A LONGITUDINAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TOPIC

COVERAGE AND ELITIST FRAMES IN

GOURMET MAGAZINE: 1945-2008

by

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ABSTRACT

A content analysis of *Gourmet* magazine was performed to explore topic coverage and dominant frames in the content. The first part of the study, which examined topic coverage, was informed by agenda setting theory. It was found that *Gourmet* set the agenda for its readers by making cooking, international travel, restaurants, and travel in the United States the most prominent topics in its pages. According to agenda setting theory, *Gourmet* told its readers to think about these topics when thinking about the gourmet. The second part of the study, which examined framing of feature articles, was informed by frame analysis. Articles were scanned for presence of a list of attributes that suggested either an elitist or accessible frame. It was found that most articles in *Gourmet* were framed as elitist, suggesting that *Gourmet* influenced readers' perception of the gourmet as elite. However, nearly 40% of articles were framed as accessible, suggesting that the magazine did achieve some balance between the two frames. Because the gourmet is traditionally associated with the elite, this data suggests that *Gourmet* was somewhat successful in making the gourmet world accessible for its readers. Making the gourmet, a lifestyle once reserved for the elite, more accessible to Americans was the magazine's founding principle.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

In January 2009, editors of *The New York Times* said food writing has "perhaps never been a more crucial part of what we [journalists] do than today" (The Editors, 2009, p. MM). In their letter to readers, the editors announced plans to expand food coverage in the newspaper and in the *Times* Sunday magazine.

"How and what we eat," they wrote, "has emerged as a Washington issue and a global-environmental issue as well as a kitchen-table one (p. MM)." Increased food coverage in the *New York Times* and other major media suggests an increased awareness of the role food and food-related issues play in American society today. Both *The Los Angeles Times* and *The St. Petersburg Times* have restructured and expanded their food coverage since 2008. The number of magazine titles relating to food increased 40% between 2001 and 2008 (Gustin, 2009, p. 53).

But just one year later, in 2009, the magazine that many considered to be the benchmark of American food writing—*Gourmet*—ceased publication following an executive decision by its parent company, Condé Nast. *Gourmet* set the precedent for other food magazines in many ways. It was the first American magazine devoted to food and wine, and many followed in its footsteps. Through its mass-mediated messages, *Gourmet* magazine set the tone for how food writing would evolve in this country, and for how its readers, the American public, would think about gourmet food, for 68 years.

Subscribers were saddened by Condé Nast's decision to maintain the lower-brow of its food titles, *Bon Appetit* (Luscombe, 2009, p. 1). NPR reporter Diana Abu-Jaber commented on the magazine's appeal at the announcement of its closure: "*Gourmet* showed us the real possibilities of food: it wasn't just to nourish the body or excite the palate, but to engage the

mind and imagination, to magnify our experience, bringing us more fully into our senses, allowing us to be more completely alive" (Abu-Jaber, 2009, p. 1). *Gourmet* made it possible for a wide audience to experience food in myriad ways. Its content shaped its readers' relationships with food and left an indelible mark on American food culture.

Many blame the magazine's demise on loss of advertising revenue and a body of editorial content that catered to a rapidly diminishing elite. But the magazine was much more than an upper-crust foodie magazine: "Although it was easy to paint *Gourmet* as the food magazine for the elite, it was a chronicler of a nation's food history, from its early fascination with the French culinary canon to its discovery of Mediterranean and Asian flavors to its recent focus on the source of food and the politics surrounding it" (Severson, 2009, p. D3). *Gourmet* developed and retained strong influence in both the food and journalism worlds. It attracted contributors of literary acclaim such as M.F.K. Fisher and James Beard. A review in *Gourmet* almost guaranteed success for young chefs and restaurateurs.

The *New York Times*' Stephanie Clifford said it best: "*Gourmet* was to food what *Vogue* is to fashion, a magazine with a rich history and a perch high in the publishing firmament" (Clifford, 2009, p. A1).

Its close came as a blow to some. James Oseland, editor in chief of *Saveur*, a smaller food magazine, commented on the magazine's closure in *The New York Times*: "It has a certain doomsday quality because it's not just a food magazine. It represents so much more. It's an American cultural icon" (Severson, 2009, p. D3). No one is sure exactly what the magazine's demise means for food media and American food culture, but its absence has left a void in what seemed before to be a thriving sector of print media.

The objective of this study is to chronicle a major part of the nation's food history as it is represented in the pages of *Gourmet*. The study will analyze one food magazine and one major arena of the food world: the gourmet, to shed light on its changing role in American society over time.

While scores of scholars attempt to uncover the motivations behind print media and its subsequent effects on audiences, little scholarly attention has been devoted to food journalism. Even less has been devoted to *Gourmet*. Under the assumption that journalism both influences and reflects societal trends (Gonzenbach, 1996), understanding how the content of a major food magazine changed over time will shed light on changes that have occurred in the way Americans think about food, and in particular, gourmet food.

This study analyzes content from major periods in the magazine's 68-year lifespan, 1941-2009. Specifically, this study asks how *Gourmet* set the agenda for its audience through shifts in topic coverage and framing of gourmet as an elitist pursuit over time.

At its close in November 2009, *Gourmet* magazine reached 934,778 readers every month (gourmet.com). From its first issue in January 1941, as America recovered from the Great Depression, to its last issue in November 2009, when it was closed in the midst of a severe economic recession, *Gourmet* defined an era. Tracing the changes in topics covered and frames present by decade will shed light on changes in Americans' conceptualization of food and the rise and fall of a gourmet culture between two landmark periods in American history.

Gourmet in Context: Food Journalism

Food journalism has changed in recent history. Doug Brown wrote in *American Journalism Review*, "The transformation of food journalism from 'five things to do with cream of mushroom soup' to the subject of an entire issue of *The New Yorker*, longtime food writers

say, has a lot to do with changing attitudes about food across the country," (Brown, 2004, p. 51). Societal attitudes toward food are reflected in the evolution and expansion of the media that cover food.

Until recently, food writing was perceived as a thriving sector of an otherwise troubled media. One food blogger noted, "With the wellsprings of traditional media sputtering, food blogs have begun to spout with restaurant news and reviews, recipes, and mouthwatering photos to the point of becoming an integral part of the food media" (Denveater, 2009, p. 42). And while newspapers struggle to survive, they were, until recently, expanding their food sections.

Newspapers like *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*, which in the past held onto stock food stories that were catalogued by length and aimed at filling news holes, were sending reporters across the globe or into ethnic communities or health food stores to report on food as recently as the early 2000s(Brown, 2004, p. 54). Steve Proctor, deputy managing editor for news at *The San Francisco Chronicle*, provided the following explanation for increased food coverage: "It [food] has become much more of an essential focus of our life" (quoted in Brown 2004).

Proctor concluded, "A newspaper usually reflects what the culture is doing, and I think that's why you're seeing so much more devotion to food journalism" (Brown, 2007, p. 52). The increase in food journalism and the implications the growth has for shifts in American cultural ideology show the significance of a study that attempts to trace changes over time in a particular food movement through a dominant food magazine.

According to Johnston & Baumann (2006), food media in the United States have always had an unusually strong influence on American cultural ideology. The United States is a young country with an eclectic population, factors that are partly responsible for its lack of culinary

traditions in comparison with other cultures. Therefore, the media have a particularly strong influence on American culinary culture. Food is an area in which the media have considerable power in shaping how the American public thinks about food (Johnston & Baumann, 2006, p. 391).

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

This literature review builds the foundation for this study by giving a brief history of *Gourmet* magazine, examining different definitions of gourmet in Western society over time, and describing the rise of gourmet culture and its resurgence in recent American history. Tracing the magazine's history sheds light on the issues and emphases surrounding the magazine throughout its 68-year history in order to establish key points in the longitudinal analysis. Time is one of the key variables of interest in this study. The topics and frames operationalized as variables that will be measured against time in the methods chapter are derived from literature that traces the history of *Gourmet* magazine and the development of gourmet culture over time. The measurement the researcher will use to analyze content from *Gourmet* magazine are derived from this literature review.

Before delving into these histories, however, it is important to establish the theoretical framework guiding this study. One major theory and one supplemental analytical tool from scholarly communication literature will be used to inform this study. They are reviewed below.

Theoretical Framework

Agenda setting theory and frame analysis, both rooted in communication science, will be used to inform this study. The study actually will be split into two parts: one examining topics, grounded in agenda setting theory, and a second exploring dominant frames and approaches suggesting those frames, grounded in frame analysis.

Agenda setting theory was built upon intellectual antecedents to the field of communication science, and it has become a central theory in the field of communication. Lippman, a social psychologist, (1922) said the media provide a window to the world, with which people have limited experience. Cohen (1963), a media scholar, concluded that as a window to the world, the media had tremendous power in telling its audience what topics to think about (Cohen, 1963). Lang and Lang (1966), pioneering communication scientists, noted that by constantly presenting issues that suggest what people should know about, the media draw public attention to specific issues by making some more salient than others. This is how they set the public agenda and influence public opinion about which issues are most important.

Later research (McCombs & Shaw 1974; Shapiro & Lang 1991; Gonzenbach 1996; etc.) supported the theory, providing evidence that the issues the media covered the most are the issues voters see as most important. Agenda setting is no less powerful in food coverage than it is in the events of a political campaign. The media decide how to cover food, and how much. In accordance with the theory, when members of the public think about food and eating, they will think most about the food-related topics that the media cover most.

But the public also has power over the media agenda. Gonzenbach (1996) said agenda setting is a cyclical process. Issue salience influences the public agenda, which influences the media agenda, which influences the political agenda, which in turn influences the media agenda. If the public grows increasingly concerned about the danger of mercury poisoning from salmon and tuna, for example, it will likely be covered in the media. Supporting Lippman's (1922) claim that the media constantly look for news, Gonzenbach said that the public agenda is served in the media's practice of searching for news. The media sometimes spur public salience and sometimes respond to public salience.

Frame analysis was used in conjunction with agenda setting theory in this study to explain how the media influence the public's conceptualization of a prominent part of food culture, the gourmet. Frame analysis attempts to explain the psychological complexity of the media's influence on people's worldviews. According to frame analysis, media stories are grouped into media frames—central organizing ideas or story lines that provide meaning to unfolding events or coverage of a specific topic that suggest the essence of the issue (Shapiro & Lang, 1991). Entman wrote, "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Therefore, the way the media thematically organize food coverage into frames can influence the public's social reality of food by increasing salience of certain themes in the coverage.

Entman wrote: "Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location—such as speech, utterance, news report, or novel—to that consciousness" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). By analyzing a dominant frame present in selected articles of *Gourmet* magazine, the researcher will be able to trace how the magazine promoted a certain conceptual orientation of what it means to be gourmet in the minds of its audience. As noted below, the central frame of interest in this study is how elitist or accessible gourmet as a pursuit is portrayed in feature articles in the magazine.

Food stories can be framed as anything from agriculture and business to personality profiles and social events. The way the media define a food story may very well influence the way people organize this broad, complex concept in their own cognition, as well as in

interpersonal channels of communication and the culture as a whole. According to Entman (1993), "frames have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture (1993, p. 52).

History of Gourmet Magazine

The early years. *Gourmet*, the first American magazine devoted to food and wine (Business Wire, 2001, p. 1), was founded in January 1941, as the nation struggled in the wake of the Great Depression and prepared for war. As one scholar put it, "The social context in which *Gourmet* was conceived was not conducive to the average person's lifestyle," (Voight 1994, p. 42). In May 1941, almost four million people in America were reliant on government-issued food stamps for flour, butter, meat, and oil. Three out of every 10 urban Americans did not earn enough money to maintain what was outlined as an adequate diet by a new table of recommended daily allowances published the same month (Levenstein 1993, p. 62). These circumstances would not stop *Gourmet* from promoting an air of abundance in its pages.

In the magazine's first editorial, founder and publisher Earle R. McAusland wrote: "Never has there been a more fitting time for a magazine like *Gourmet* to come into being…Good food and good living have always been a great American tradition. At our fingertips lie and abundance and variety of foods unequalled anywhere" (McAusland, 1941, p. 4). McAusland's vision for the magazine looked past temporary economic woes and the impending war, instead focusing on the embodiment of what he saw as a deeply American tradition.

According to Voight (1994, p. 44), McAusland believed "being a gourmet had nothing to do with money, status, and where one lived." Eating well, McAusland believed, was the way to happiness, and to him, any American was capable of achieving it. McAusland, former publisher

of *National Parent-Teachers Magazine*, attracted experts in culinary and literary fields in the magazine's early years. He hired French-born cook Louis B. De Gouy, who had studied under renowned chef Auguste Escoffier, as editorial chef and food columnist. Well-known food writers such as James Beard, Clementine Paddleford, M. F. K. Fisher, and Waverley Root contributed regularly. Literary icons such as Ray Bradbury, Leslie Charteris, Richard Condon, Ogden Nash, and Kenneth Roberts also wrote for the magazine. By the end of 1945, *Gourmet* had more than doubled in size, growing from 48 pages to 112. The same year, the magazine moved its office to the penthouses of the Plaza Hotel (Trager, The Food Chronology, p. 504). At its inception, *Gourmet*, subtitled "The Magazine of Good Living," was presented as much more than a food magazine, and during its early years, it established roots in the literary and culinary worlds and developed a loyal readership.

McAusland remained the magazine's publisher until his death in the 1960s (Business Wire, 2001, p. 1), continuing to dissipate the idea of achieving fine living through fine food in its pages throughout his life. As historian Anne Mendelson (2001, p.) described it, *Gourmet* began as "not a food magazine as such, but a general interest magazine with an emphatic take on one of life's great pleasures." For *Gourmet*, McAusland "refused to see any limits, and his food writers roamed the world, and any ingredient was grist for the mill," (Hamblyn, 2002, p. 8). The articles in the first issue "enforce(d) the communication of 'good taste,' and membership in the imaginary community of gourmets," (Voight, 1994, p. 47).

The fostering of a community of gourmets among the magazine's readers was evident from the first issue. In a 1941 article titled "Game for Gourmets – and Others," Writer Louis P. Degouy penned:

> We dispensers of good cheer often wonder if the casual epicurean gets as much
> enjoyment out of game as does the happy hunter…The born gourmet divines it by a sort

of instinct which shows itself on many occasions, as when, for example, a first-class cook can tell in an instant whether a fowl should be taken from the oven or be allowed to remain a few minutes longer. (p. 12)

The article suggested that the qualities of a gourmet lifestyle could be cultivated by reading the magazine. It also suggested that seasoned gourmets would take great pleasure in reading it. As such, the magazine sought to unite gourmets both seasoned and novice into an imagined community of "first-class cooks" and aspiring first-class cooks (Voight, 1994, p. 47).

The rise of the middle class in the 1940s gave weight to *Gourmet's* founding principle that fine food and fine living could be attained by anyone who desired it (Voight, 1994, p. 44). *Gourmet* mediated to the middle class tips toward a way of living that had previously been reserved for the upper class, disseminating the idea that fine living could be introduced, through food, to a wide audience.

Gourmet's early covers exemplify its founder's desire to appeal to a broad audience, and in particular, men (Voight 1997, p. 43). Several 1941 covers depict outdoor activities, including hunting wild turkey and fishing. The July 1941 issue cover illustrates a sizeable cut of meat aside a "sweating glasses of beer." Voight notes that these and other images nod to two prevalent themes in American culture: adventure and abundance.

Though it began as a magazine devoted to food, content of *Gourmet* was far from domestic in nature. Gourmet targeted men who had been away at war and had seen the world, experiencing foreign cultures and foods, rather than housewives looking for a quick fix for dinner (Voight 1997, p. 45).

The magazine's content was a far cry from the food content of women's magazines in the 1940s. *Gourmet* promoted cooking from scratch, not taking shortcuts, using fresh ingredients and borrowing French gourmet techniques, while magazines that targeted women, such as *American*

Cookery, *Better Homes and Gardens* and *Good Housekeeping* focused on women as domestic workers whose job was to keep the family happy. These magazines focused on preparing appealing, economical meals without spending too much time in the kitchen (Voight 1994, p. 45).

The middle years. The 1960s marked a period of significant changes for the magazine. In 1961, black and white photographs, rather than illustrations, appeared on the cover for the first time. The March 1964 issue was the first to have color photography, which appeared in the centerfold. In later years, the magazine would come to be known for its extravagant photography. In 1965, the magazine opened a test kitchen and began developing its own recipes. The editorial content remained largely the same, but this new angle of original recipes created by an on-staff chef expanded the content and lengthened the magazine (Voight, 1994, 43).

After McAusland's death in the 1960s, his wife took over as publisher, eventually selling the magazine to Condé Nast, who published the title monthly until budgetary cuts and loss of advertising revenue forced its closure in November 2009. Until then, the magazine thrived under Condé Nast, growing to more than 200 pages an issue by the 1990s. The power of the media giant allowed *Gourmet* to build its brand. The magazine entered into other publishing ventures (cookbooks, Web sites) and Condé Nast pushed editors to become public figures and cultural icons themselves. By the 1990s, *Gourmet* was a well-established household name. As a New York Times op-ed contributor put it, Gourmet was "floated by the billions of advertising dollars that poured through a narrow spigot into the magazine industry, controlled by a select few, the chauffeured, hard-charging publishers of New York's powerhouse magazine corporations. It was a top-down, winner-take-all proposition, an oligarchy of sorts" (Kimball, 2009, Oct. 7).

The final years. In April 1999, acclaimed food critic and memoirist Ruth Reichl took the helm of *Gourmet* as editor-in-chief, leaving her post at *The New York Times*, where she had been a restaurant critic since 1993. Abu Jabar (2009) summed up Reichl's approach: "It always seemed clear that Ruth's vision for *Gourmet* prized innovation and inclusion as an essential part of forging American food traditions." Reichl's vision was closely aligned with that of the magazine's founder, though she also took the magazine in new directions. Her inclusionary ideals led to the creation of a regular section, "The Politics of Food", devoted to pertinent issues facing the food industry and the world, from the debate over biofuels to the risks of red meat consumption to the maltreatment of migrant workers in Florida's tomato fields (gourmet.com).

In September 2009, Condé Nast announced that the magazine would cease publication two months later. Declining advertising revenue and economic strain led the publishing giant to close one of its iconic titles in a major cutback that also slashed *Modern Bride*, *Elegant Bride*, and *Cookie* magazines. The magazine that had for 68 years defined what it meant to be gourmet in America had closed its doors forever.

The Definition of Gourmet

What it means to be gourmet has broadened in American cultural ideology since the 1940s (Johnston & Baumann, 2007, p. 165). The American Heritage Dictionary defines a gourmet as "a connoisseur of fine food and drink" and a gourmand as "a lover of good food or a gluttonous eater" (2000, p. 760). These definitions, especially within our current cultural context, seem especially broad. They do not elicit notions of the elite, though what it means to be gourmet has historically been derived from French cookery, a trend largely enjoyed by elite members of society (Johnston & Baumann, 2007, p. 165).

The term "gourmet" is rooted in the days of medieval French courts. A gourmet was a person who served food and drink to the nobility (Oxford English Dictionary). Since, the term has evolved, currently defining a certain style of food and the people who enjoy it.

In 1976, De Garine, a French sociology scholar, wrote: "The envied title of 'gourmet' is reserved for an elite who, no doubt, possess certain natural capacities but who have, above all, accepted undergoing a long initiation and derive their pleasure on an intellectual rather than a material basis" (p. 153). De Garine suggested that the person who is called a gourmet must have first undergone an initiation—an informal or formal education on food, and second, a gourmet must derive pleasure from the culinary knowledge they have acquired. Here, the definition of gourmet is inherently linked to pleasure, particularly the pleasure of knowing that enjoying something gourmet elevates the experience above everyday sustenance. Though the term gourmet refers to food, a tangible, perishable, necessary thing for human life, in De Garine's framework, to enjoy gourmet, the food must lend itself to certain intangible qualities that are experienced by the person eating it.

De Garine explained how the intangible qualities of gourmet have developed over time. In the 19th century, gastronomy became a central element of social prestige. This development "appeared as an attempt to transfer the pleasure derived from the feeling of repletion and the satisfaction of primary hunger needs, to a purely qualitative appreciation of the organoleptic properties of food and the variety of flavors" (p. 154). A person who did not have to think of food in quantitative terms (will my family have enough to eat, etc.) could elevate their gastronomic habits to a gourmet level, learning to appreciate food almost exclusively for its sensory qualities. For those who had the luxury of reserving a place for food solely for enjoyment, the appreciation of gourmet became a mark of social prestige. A gourmet, then, was a

person who could afford to appreciate food less for its nutritional value than for the pleasure that could be derived from eating it (De Garine, 1976, p. 155).

De Garine (1976) illustrated how class distinctions tend to reserve gourmet for the more elite members of a society through examples from varying cultural contexts. He explained that within different cultures, different practices can earn a person or food the title of gourmet. He began with an example of the differences between two men's meals in a rural community: "There are, of course, differences according to economic status: a village headman eats more abundantly and probably consumes more proteins than his poorest villager, but he eats very much the same food" (p. 154). Here, De Garine suggested that upper class individuals traditionally tend to consume more protein (probably meat) and a wider variety of food. Here, gastronomic prestige is associated with abundance, variety and choice.

De Garine (1976) contrasted this notion of gourmet with a very different one:

> In India the Brahmin can hardly be considered to have a gourmet's attitude toward food. In Senegal the Muslim priests are those who have the lowest consumption of protein foods. If one can use the word prestige in this context, it is in relation to their modest attitude regarding food and it will be transmitted as such to other categories. (p. 155)

In Indian and Muslim cultures, gastronomic prestige is derived from practicing restraint. After explaining different ways gourmet status can be achieved, De Garine (1976) illustrated how the ingredients themselves acquire this prestige:

> Cultural authenticity is the first stage at which prestige may be observed. The status of the human being properly inserted in the framework of a society is initially conferred by the consumption of the staple food—the daily bread…It is by consuming the group's staple food that its members display their belongingness to the society and their consubstantiality with Mother Earth. (p. 156)

Foods that are perceived as culturally authentic, then, can be elevated to gourmet status.

Gourmet in American Culture

Johnston & Baumann (2006) explained the uniqueness of American "cuisine." Because America has relatively few culinary traditions in comparison with other cultures, in part because it is a relatively new country, they explain that American cuisine "is a cultural construction that is discursively produced as part of an 'imagined' American community produced by mass media" (p. 391). In other words, the media have a particularly strong influence on American culinary culture. The scholars contended that the American culinary nationalism perpetuated by the media "tends to minimize class distinctions and erase the historical divides of race and ethnicity," citing the trend toward omnivorousness in gourmet culture as a primary example. They concluded that "a love of good food is presented as the great social leveler" that can be enjoyed by elite members of society and everyday citizens alike (Johnston & Baumann, 2006, p. 391).

In a later content analysis, Johnston and Baumann (2007) studied gourmet food journalism to understand how the media lend legitimacy to the elite status of a widening range of available ingredients and cooking techniques (p. 165). The researchers explained that food writers, as culinary experts, "have considerable power to shape perceptions of food as high quality, fashionable, and worthy of attention from high status consumers" (p. 165).

Johnston and Baumann (2007) explained that gourmet status, as maintained by the mass media, refers to a wide range of ingredients and cuisines from cultures around the world. The scholars explained the shift of the cultural construction of gourmet from its roots in French cuisine, still dominant in 1940s America, to a desire for the exotic and a wide range of ingredients that breed a selective omnivorousness and minimize traditional loyalty to traditional French cuisine. They examined gourmet food writing through two frames writers often use to

elevate certain foods: authenticity and exoticism. They found that "these frames resolve a tension between an inclusionary ideology of democratic cultural consumption on the one hand, and an exclusionary ideology of taste and distinction on the other" (p. 165). The new "omnivorousness" of gourmet breaks down the old barrier of exclusivity as it creates a new vision of distinction and selectiveness. The modern definition of what it means to be gourmet, then, sustains its status despite "eroding boundaries between highbrow and lowbrow culture" (Johnston & Baumann, 2007, p. 165).

In place of a reliance on French cuisine, "omnivorousness seems to function as an alternative strategy to snobbery for generating status. Omnivores are not necessarily less status seeking, but status is sought out in newly selective ways" (Johnston & Baumann, 2007, p. 165). Modern gourmet, they explained, is achieved by selectively choosing from a global array of traditions, ingredients and techniques. Gourmet status is still closely linked with the elite, but it is achieved in a different way (Johnston & Baumann, 2007, p. 165). Both the abundance of food choices in the rural elite culture and the selectiveness of Indian and Muslim religious elites, described as qualifiers for gastronomic prestige in De Garine's (1976) study, are present in the modern American definition of gourmet.

In a review of the book *The United States of Arugula: How We Became a Gourmet Nation*, Small (2008) explained that the growth of gourmet is influenced by literature: "Food history, food memoirs and all manner of food literature have heightened the place of importance food occupies in collective American culture" (p. 108). Small described the changes that have occurred over the past 50 years as "the revolution in American cuisine" (p. 108). The book told the story of this epicurean revolution (Small, 2008, p. 108). Both Small and Johnston and

Baumann recognized the central role of media and literature in shaping the definition of gourmet in American culture.

In a conference paper, Johnston, Baumann et al (2008) explained that gourmet media also reflects American culture. The American gourmet is "frequently described as being obsessed with the exotic" rather than with anything American, they contend (2004, p. 1). Johnston & Baumann's belief that exoticism is highly valued in food led them to ask: "Does this mean that a sense of the American nation constructed through food is absent?" (Johnston, Baumann & Clamp, 2004). To answer this question, the scholars analyzed the content of four popular American food magazines and found "a strongly defined portrait of the American nation," through the presence of holiday content, portraits of rural America and a presence of the Other. Nationalism and the nation were dominant frames in the content. The scholars found that "a sense of nationhood is in part constructed, rather than obscured, by a culinary quest for the Exotic" (Johnston, Baumann, and Cairns, 2008, p. 1). They concluded that the American culinary field is both a site where new nationalist ideas are constructed and where long-standing nationalist ideals like cosmopolitanism have a strong influence on the content.

Small (2008) concluded that while the gourmet world now embraces a variety of ingredients and techniques, "it is only slightly less elitist than it was in 1958. The only real change we have seen is in mid-range, middle-class food habits, where, thanks to Chipotle, we now have one more over-priced, mediocre choice for lunch" (Small, 2008, p. 108). Small's review supported Johnston & Baumann's (2007) claim that while the enjoyment of good food is often described as a social leveler, the importance of being elite is still just as prominent in defining gourmet. The notion of what is elite has changed.

Hanke studied the development of American gourmet culture by analyzing content from *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Philadelphia Magazine*. Beginning in the 1960s, certain trends suggested that the Inquirer had begun to reflect "the emergence of urban lifestyles where the cultivation of sophistication in matters of food and drink was crucial" (Hanke, 1989, p. 225). The representation of specialized techniques, cooking hints from chefs, reverence for foreign foods and wine as an accompaniment to food all began to appear in the Inquirer in the 1960s. "The tone of practical materialism that characterized the food commentary in the 1960s gives way to a gourmet sensibility," Hanke contended (225). At the same time, journalists began to see food as a serious subject. In the 1960s, the Inquirer's food writing staff expanded and specialized. These trends proliferated and expanded through the 1980s. The content conveyed messages that related food to status, lifestyles, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism.

Food writers and literary critics have great influence in defining what it means to be gourmet, but so does the industry that produces, markets, and sells the food. In 1998, Klein sited Packaged Facts, an organization that used ten criteria to identify gourmet and specialty foods. The criteria were quality and cost of ingredients, limited distribution or production, originality and uniqueness, regional or ethnic food, unique packaging, a limited market, new or cutting edge, and higher prices than similar products or exhibited at a gourmet food show.

Marketing of "gourmet" foods by the food industry has played an important role in the shaping of the way Americans define gourmet. Packaged Facts organized gourmet food into the following five categories: coffee and tea, cheese, confectionery and desserts, pasta, and other products (Klein, 1998, p. 43).

The way the food industry defines it, gourmet has a strong presence in the American food market. Packaged Facts (1998) reported that sales of gourmet and specialty foods reached nearly

$38.8 billion in 1997. Product sales in this category rose 32% between 1993 and 1997. Packaged Facts estimated that sales would continue to grow by an average of 7% each year, reaching sales of $54.4 billion by the year 2000 (Klein, 1998, p. 43). These figures mirror the trend toward a more accessible gourmet, and therefore a growing gourmet culture, that other scholars have outlined by studying gourmet mass media.

Food and Gourmet in Communication Studies

Relatively few communication studies have examined food's role in the media, and most of them have focused on food advertising. A few scholars have examined food's role in news and entertainment media as a vehicle for a greater understanding of food's role in American society.

Ketchum (2004) studied frames and hegemony in newspaper and Food Network coverage of food. She found that news coverage focused on organic food, which she cited as a rising trend in America during the time of her study, in the 1990s. The media in her sample framed organic food in terms of quality and individual health—not in terms of addressing environmental issues and collective responses to perceived risks. Ketchum (2004) also found that much of the Food Network's content is framed in terms of pleasure, focusing on the pleasures that the content on the network can offer. The Food Network framed food as pleasure in social connection, stimulation and virtual intimacy. She argues that the delivery of these messages "irons out class tensions" because all viewers are deemed equal by the network to enjoy such a range of products. The Food Network promotes what Ketchum called "a democracy of taste." (p. 297). She concluded that both the news and Food Network frame food as entertainment and an inner-directed issue, leaving out both the social and environmental implications of our food system and

the nutritional value of the featured dishes. She claims that ultimately, the media employ and diffuses hegemony to absorb critique (p. 297).

Price (2008) studied framing of food content in weekly news magazines. She found that the food business was the most prevalent frame, thought "soft news" food topics gained ground during the time period of her study, 1995-2004. She argued that this increase was designed to make *Newsweek* and other news magazines competitive with lifestyle magazines and the rest of the media. Topics such as obesity, health and restaurant reviews increased during the time of her study. She used the following frames: food business, cookery, alcohol, weight and health/disease (p. 119).

One scholar looked at *Gourmet* magazine's food coverage to explain the role food media has played in refining the palate of American omnivores. This study traced the development of Americans' taste for the gourmet through the proliferation of *Gourmet*'s mantra that fine eating can be equated to fine living (Voight, 1997, p. 5). Though this study was an important step leading to uncovering how food magazines influence the public's opinion of food, it was qualitative in nature and did not explore the evolution of trends or prominence of topics in the magazine over time.

Research Questions

This study will build upon previous research by explaining how the content of *Gourmet* magazine has evolved over the last seven, both reflecting and influencing American food cultural ideology.

The following research questions have been posed:

- RQ 1: What topics were given the most space in *Gourmet* magazine over its history?
- RQ2: Did space devoted to each topic vary over the periods examined in the study?

- RQ 3: What kinds of approaches (those suggesting an elitist frame or those suggesting an accessible frame) are most commonly used in *Gourmet* articles? Did the approaches used vary by publication period?

- RQ 4: Is an elitist or accessible frame more dominant in *Gourmet* articles? Did the dominant frame vary over publication period?

- RQ 5: Does the frame vary by the main topic of the article?

CHAPTER III

Methods

The research questions posed in this study were explored using content analysis. In this study, content analysis was used to analyze both the content of issues by topic and the framing of select stories in *Gourmet* magazine during its publication lifetime, 1941-2009.

Defense of the Method

Content analysis was selected for this study because the major research questions posed in the study relate to the magazine's content—not its effects on readers or the attitudes of its producers. As noted above, however, the exploration of the content is undertaken based on the assumption that content does have an effect on its audience through agenda setting and framing.

Other methods could be used to study the content of an entire magazine and frames present in select stories. The researcher could conduct a survey, focus group, or intensive interviews with the people producing the content or the people reading the content, but in this study, the researcher systematically coded the content itself. Because this study aimed to provide information about how the content of *Gourmet* magazine changed over a 68-year period, neither asking the producers nor the readers was feasible, given the 68-year timeframe covered in the study. The founder of *Gourmet* magazine, along with other early editors, writers, and readers of the magazine are now deceased, making the content itself the most accessible way to gain information about its changes over time.

Content analysis has several benefits over other communication research methods. First, content analysis is unobtrusive and is taken from texts (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 40).

Second, content analysis allows content to be studied in its original context, eliminating any risk that a separation from that content might create (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 42).

Third, content analysis can cope with large amounts of data, which can be too expensive or time consuming to collect and analyze in other methods (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 42). Because large amounts of media content can be analyzed, and because human subjects are not required, content analysis was capable of handling this study, which covered 68 years of content, with relative ease. Content analysis allowed the researcher to uncover patterns and evolution of content in its original context, which would not be possible using other methods.

The current study. Two content analyses were conducted for this study. The first two research questions, which examined the topics covered in the magazine over time, were analyzed by examining the entire content of selected issues of *Gourmet*. This study served as a way to trace the prominence of certain topics over time, to determine how the magazine was defining the gourmet for its readers, and whether that definition changed over time. The third and fourth research questions, which examined whether feature articles in *Gourmet* were framed as elitist or accessible, were analyzed by examining randomly selected feature stories from a range of years in the magazine. These questions served as a way to test the success of the publisher's founding principle that any American was capable of achieving a high quality of life through the enjoyment of the gourmet. Therefore, the researcher examined whether feature articles were framed as elitist, the mentality traditionally associated with gourmet culture, or accessible, which is how the magazine's founder wished to portray the content. The fifth research question compared data from Study 1 and Study 2 to examine the relationship between topics and frames.

Study 1: Topics Covered

Study one answered the first two research questions, which examined the topics covered in *Gourmet* and how the amount of space devoted to each topic changed over time.

Population and sample. In this study, the researcher chose *Gourmet* magazine to represent all American gourmet food writing. *Gourmet* was a widely read, well-respected publication in food writing and the first and longest-running American magazine devoted to food and wine. In these ways, it set the precedent for other, newer food magazines in this country and introduced American readers to the world of gourmet food. Results of this study are not generalizable to other food magazines, but the results are relevant in a broader sense because of the prominence *Gourmet* magazine held in the food and publishing worlds during its 68-year lifespan.

Therefore, the theoretical population in this study was every issue of *Gourmet* magazine published during its lifespan, January 1941 through November 2009. In total 837 issues were published in those 68 plus years. The actual population was the issues available to the researcher in hard copy form in various locations—bound copies at the University of Alabama Library (1943-1992), the UAB Sterne Library (1999), and Tuscaloosa Public Library (2008). The sample was drawn from that available population.

To examine the different eras at *Gourmet* and how topics changed over time, at least one year in each decade was be selected for analysis. Six issues (every other monthly issue beginning with January) from those selected years represented the sample. Six issues were analyzed for the following eight years: 1945, 1954, 1963, 1972, 1981, 1990, 1999, and 2008. Nine-year intervals were selected to include 2008, the last complete year of publication, to uncover the most recent trends in the magazine's content, and to include a longitudinal analysis spanning the seven

decades the magazine was in print. A total of 48 issues (six issues in each of eight years) were analyzed.

Unit of analysis. The unit of measurement in this portion of the study was the entire issue. In this study, an issue was defined as every page inside the magazine, excluding the front and back covers. All other pages, including advertisements, table of contents and indexes, and letters from readers, were included as part of this study. These pages were counted for the purpose of collecting descriptive data about each issue.

Each page in the selected issue was coded by topic, as outlined in the codesheet (See Appendix A) and as described below, to measure the space devoted to each topic and each topic's prominence by issue. If more than one article appeared on one page, pages were divided into quarter and third pages. Therefore, in one issue, for example, 35 and ¾ pages could be devoted to a given topic. Information on the pages was coded from 0/1 to 4/4 on a quarter page system and 0/3 to 3/3 on a third page system. Both topics and advertising pages were coded using this system. For example, if there was no advertising on a page, then advertising for that page received a 0/1 score. If the advertisement took up a third of the page, that page received a 1/3 score. Possible scores include 0/1, 1/4, 1/3, 2/3, 3/4, and 1/1. On every page that was coded, each portion of the page that was coded had to add up to 1. For example, if ¼ of a page is devoted to advertising, then the rest of the page that was coded as editorial content must add up to ¾, equaling 1 for the total content of that page. These fractions were converted to decimals for data analyses, however, with the option of being .25, .33, .5, .67, .75 or 1.

In this study, editorial content included both text and images related to each topic. For example, if a photograph of meringue appeared on a page devoted to how to cook meringue, both the image and the text were coded as cooking.

Variables. In each issue selected for analysis, topics were measured by the number of pages devoted to each of 11 topics.

Information about a set of descriptive variables was also collected for each issue that was analyzed. These variables were year and month of publication, total number of pages, and total number of recipes. Collecting information about these variables and the three descriptive categories listed below helped the researcher understand the context of the rest of the data that was collected.

Table of contents, masthead, credits, and index pages were included in the first category. Letters from readers were the second category, and advertising was the third. These were called categories rather than topics because while these pages needed to be accounted for, they were not of primary interest to the researcher.

Topics the magazine covered were measured so they could be compared over time in the analyses below. Topics in this study were derived from departments and major categories in the magazine over the seven decades it was published. There were eleven topics in all: Cooking, Entertaining, Places – U.S., Places – International, Restaurants, Arts and Culture, Products, Ingredients/Sourcing, People, Food News/Politics, and Alcohol. Each of these topics was given significant attention in the magazine. These topics were defined as follows. Coding procedures are described in detail in the codebook (see Appendix A). There are examples for each in the codebook.

- Cooking: *Gourmet* traditionally focused on the pleasures of preparing a home-cooked meal. Cooking was at the center of the magazine's content and philosophy. Any content containing tips for preparing certain dishes, ideas for dinner, and recipes fell into this category.

- Entertaining: A secondary purpose of *Gourmet* magazine was to provide information on preparing meals for guests and parties. Any content that focused on entertaining guests in one's home, with food or otherwise, fell into this category.

- Places – U.S.: Much of *Gourmet's* content contained information about writers' travels and regional cuisine. This kind of content was separated into national and international categories. If this kind of content described a place within the United States, it fell into this category.

- Places – International: Content featuring travel, cultures, and cuisine outside the United States fell into this category.

- Restaurants: Restaurant reviews and listings, which appeared frequently in *Gourmet*, fell into this category.

- Arts and Culture: Content devoted to the arts, education, or intellectual pursuits fell into this category. Content containing information about movies, plays, music, visual art, and books other than cookbooks were be categorized under arts and culture. Sketches of historical figures, which appeared briefly during the magazine's early years, were included in this category.

- Products: This topic was included to categorize any content in the magazine describing cookware, appliances, cookbooks and other food and preparation-related products. Sections devoted specifically to products appeared in the magazine at certain points in time. "Things We Love" was the most recent, appearing in the last years of publication. "Gourmet Garden" was another. Any content describing a specific product, including the brand, fell into this category.

- Ingredients/Sourcing: Ingredients were often described in detail in *Gourmet*'s pages. The source of a wine, cheese, vegetable, or other food or drink is often important in the gourmet world.

- People: People are becoming increasingly important in the food world (celebrity chefs, cookbook authors, cooking television hosts, etc.). Content that focused on them or any particular person, celebrity or not, was coded as People.

- Food News/Politics: During its last decade of publication, *Gourmet* began to devote space to political, social, and economic issues. Examples include the poor treatment of migrant workers in Florida's tomato fields and the benefits and risks of eating red meat. Any content about current events, political, social, or economic issues was categorized here.

- Alcohol: From time to time, articles about alcoholic beverages, particularly wine, appeared in *Gourmet*. Content devoted to wine, beer, spirits, or any other alcoholic beverage, as well as recipes for alcoholic drinks, was categorized here.

The topic variables were tested against the variable of time. One year, beginning with 1945, was analyzed every nine years, providing a snapshot of how the magazine looked at nine-year intervals. 1945 was selected for the initial year because in this year, the magazine had nearly doubled in size since it began publishing in 1941, it had moved its offices to the prestigious location of the penthouse of the Plaza Hotel in New York, and it had drawn famous food and non-food writers and established a devoted audience (Trager, The Food Chronology, p. 504). *Gourmet* had become an established publication in four short years. Beginning the study in 1945 will also allow the researcher to end with 2008, the last complete year of publication, to provide a snapshot of the most recent trends of the magazine, closest to its close in November 2009.

The procedure for both studies appears at the end of Study 2 in the Procedures section.

Study 2: Feature Article Frame Analysis

Study 2 examined how feature articles in *Gourmet* were framed (as either elitist or accessible) by examining the approaches used in the story. The study also examined how the dominant frame varied over time. In addition, Study 2 examined how topics were related to frames of feature articles in *Gourmet*.

This portion of the study was conducted by analyzing the content of two randomly selected feature articles per magazine. The same years used in Study 1 were used in Study 2, providing 96 articles for analysis (48 issues times two articles each). For each article, the presence or absence of certain approaches was recorded. Approaches suggested one of two frames: elitist and accessible. The researcher's primary interest was whether "gourmet," a notion that comes from French culture and was traditionally associated elite members of society, was framed as accessible to the average American, in line with McAusland's ideology, or whether it contained more qualities associated with the elite. The question here was an attempt to measure the success of McAusland and subsequent editors and publishers in the practice of this ideology. The frame of each article was determined by the presence or absence of eight elitist and eight accessible approaches. If the article contained more elitist approaches, the article was framed as elitist; if the article contained more accessible approaches, the article was coded as accessible.

Population and sample. The theoretical population of Study 2 was every feature article ever published in *Gourmet* magazine during its lifespan, January 1941 through November 2009. The actual population was the articles available to the researcher in hard copy form in various locations—bound copies at the University of Alabama Library (1943-1992), and bound copies at

the UAB Sterne Library (1999) Tuscaloosa Public Library (2008). The sample was drawn from that available population.

To examine how framing of lead articles in *Gourmet* changed over time, years for analysis were chosen in nine-year intervals, beginning with 1945 and ending with 2008, the same years used in Study 1. Two feature articles from six issues (every other month, beginning with January) from those selected years were selected at random to represent the sample.

Unit of analysis. The unit of measurement in this portion of the study was the article. In this study, an article was defined by its separate listing in the table of contents. In each selected year, two feature articles were analyzed for six issues. Feature articles met the following criteria: feature articles were articles other than standing departments, were bylined, and had one page or more of non-recipe text.

Variables. Descriptive variables for the story included page number, length, year, month, and topic (as defined in Study 1). Detailed instructions that outline each variable can be found in the codebook in Appendix B.

- Page number: The coder recorded the page number of the first page of the story being analyzed.

- Length: The coder recorded the number of pages of the story being analyzed.

- Year: The coder recorded the year the story was published for each story analyzed.

- Month: The coder recorded the month each story analyzed was published.

- Topic: The coder identified and recorded the topic of the article, selected from the list of topics in the codebook for Study 1 (see Appendix A).

Topic variables. The topic variables in study 2 were the frames, elitist and accessible, that were identified by the presence or absence of eight elitist and eight accessible approaches in the

articles. The topic variables were measured against the variable of time. Articles were determined to be either elitist or accessible based on the approaches present.

Elitist approaches. Much of the literature on gourmet food mentions that the gourmet is traditionally associated with the elite. Elitist approaches were listed under this frame on the codesheet. For each approach that was present anywhere in the article, the coder placed a 1 in the space provided. Details on coding for each specific approach are listed below. After the article was coded and all approaches were been recorded, the sum of all the elitist approaches were placed in the space provided for the total. If the total was higher than the total for accessible, the article's frame was recorded as elitist. Theoretically, highest number of elitist approaches used was eight, and the lowest was zero. The eight elitist approaches used were as follows:

- International: Many of *Gourmet*'s feature articles were set outside the United States. Writers for the magazine often detailed their experiences abroad in its pages. An international approach was considered elitist in this study because the average American does not have the time or money to travel abroad. Therefore, the Americans that make a habit of international travel form an elite group.

- First person: Many of *Gourmet*'s feature articles were written in the first person. Many of these articles had the qualities of a personal essay. Stories about the staff's travels often used the word "we" to describe them. This approach was considered elitist because these articles tell the stories of another person's travel and dining experiences, without much mention as to how the reader could replicate such an experience.

- Description: Articles that simply described something were seen as elitist. Often, stories described a restaurant, hotel, or party without giving any practical information that would

aid the reader. Most articles had elements of description; some had elements of both description and how-to.

- Cost not mentioned/out of reach: Articles that did not mention price or that listed exorbitant prices were seen as elitist in this study. Many articles, especially in early years, included a first-person review of a restaurant, but menu prices were often not listed. Other articles did mention price, but the price was out of reach of the average American.

- Social prestige/show-off: De Garine noted that gastronomy was a central element of social prestige as early as the 19th century, introducing a status element to the gourmet (1975, p. 153). Articles that mentioned culturally recognized prestigious activities (an evening at the Waldorf, college at Oxford, a trip to St. Bart's) or seemed to talk down to readers were seen as elitist in this study. This approach also included articles that contained frames pertaining to improving social position, such as entertaining guests and having knowledge about arts, culture, and gourmet food in order to impress. Articles that mentioned complex ideas, exotic destinations, elite dining experiences, or rare ingredients without explaining or defining them were also included.

- Urban: Articles about urban food trends, new restaurants, and city living were coded as urban. Hanke, a scholar who studied the development of American gourmet culture, wrote that gourmet culture is evident in the urban lifestyle, "where the cultivation of sophistication in matters of food and drink was crucial" (Hanke, 1989, p. 225). Because *Gourmet*'s content concerned both the cultivation of food (which occurs in predominantly rural locales) and the enjoyment of food (often in restaurants and other urban settings), this distinction was a key way of categorizing content.

- Elaborate/time no object: Articles that suggested elaborate menus, extended vacations, or other activities where time was no object were seen as elitist in this study. American families are often defined by overbooked children, overworked parents, and an on-the-go lifestyle. Activities where time is no object are generally inaccessible for the average American. Articles where time is no object suggest the reader has lots of time on his or her hands.

- Food as intellectual: According to French sociology scholar De Garine, a gourmet is a person who derives intellectual pleasure from eating gourmet food. Often, *Gourmet* articles made that leap, reaching beyond basic descriptions of nourishment or physical enjoyment (it tastes good) to elevate the pleasure of eating to an intellectual level (it tastes good because I know where it came from, how it was prepared, and that it's a rare delicacy). A few ways articles accomplished this were by describing qualities of a certain ingredient (beyond nutritional qualities), giving a history of the food, or giving cultural context to a recipe or ingredient. These articles give the reader more than the most basic information, suggesting that readers derive intellectual pleasure from eating. Articles with this approach elevate food's status beyond the physical realm, suggesting that readers can eat based on the intellectual pleasure they can derive from the food rather than to meet basic needs, which also means they will be selective. Articles with this approach were seen as elitist in this study.

Accessible. There is substantial evidence in the literature that the elite is commonly associated with gourmet. The opposite of elite, at least in terms of content of a magazine, is accessible, meaning it is not reserved for the elite. Therefore, accessible was chosen as the second frame through which content could be analyzed. Accessible approaches were listed under

this frame on the codesheet. For each approach that was present in the article, the coder placed a 1 in the space provided. Details on coding each specific approach are listed below.

- Americana: *Gourmet* also contained features about places within the United States that focused on American traditions and themes (a Louisiana crawfish boil, harvest season in northern California, etc.). Articles with an Americana approach were considered accessible in this study, because they took place in our homeland and often focused on national themes. De Garine noted that foods that are perceived as culturally authentic can be elevated to gourmet status (1975, p. 153). The question here is whether more emphasis is placed on American cultural authenticity or outside cultures.

- Second or third person: Some articles in *Gourmet* were written in the second or third person. Articles written in the second person directly addressed the reader, giving the sense that the article was written specifically for the reader, and not as a piece of literature that could stand alone, as a personal essay might. Examples of articles written in the third person are articles about ingredients (the parsnip) or people (Alexander Dumas). Sometimes they are about places. These articles tend to give more objective information on a specific subject. Again, they give the sense that the article was written for the reader. Therefore, articles written in the second or third person were seen as accessible in this study.

- How-to: Articles that instructed the reader (recipes, directions, steps, etc.) were seen as accessible in this study. How-to articles give readers access to what is depicted in the magazine by telling them how they can achieve it.

- Budget-friendly/cost included: Articles that were cost-conscious were seen as accessible in this study. Some articles mentioned budget-friendly dining and travel activities

(camping, picnics, diners, etc.), and some articles listed prices that were affordable. Cost-consciousness suggests that the writer was aware that what he or she described would be accessible to a wider audience.

- Personal improvement: These articles often explained something complex in everyday terms, suggested shortcuts for preparing a gourmet meal, or gave succinct explanations of gourmet terms and ideology. These articles sometimes suggested ways the reader could become better (a better cook, a better entertainer, etc.). According to De Garine, a person who is called a gourmet must have first undergone some kind of informal or formal education on food (1975, p. 153). Each article was examined in order to determine whether it was part of this educational process or it assumed the reader had already undergone substantial culinary and cultural education.

- Rural: Articles about farming, growing food, or small town living and articles that set in rural locales were coded as rural.

- Time/ease of preparation: Though *Gourmet* generally approached cooking, travel, and cultural activities with the mentality that its readers enjoyed spending time doing these things, some articles made an effort to include shortcuts or advice for pulling together a gourmet meal in a hurry. Articles that make time and ease of preparation a priority make the gourmet world more accessible to the average time-starved American.

- Food as nourishment: Articles that described basic enjoyment (just because it tastes good) or approached food from the angle of basic health and nourishment were seen as accessible. Everybody has to eat, and the presence of reinvented food sections in newspapers and a high number of food-related magazines suggests that Americans are constantly looking for new ways to meet this basic need.

Procedure. To ensure reliability and validity of the instruments, the lead researcher and secondary researcher performed a preliminary check of the codesheets and codebooks with several issues that are not part of the sample. To ensure face validity, the researchers examined topics of coverage in the magazine independently, collaborated, and revised to develop a refined list of mutually exclusive topics (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 58).

After further revision, the lead researcher and a coder checked intercoder reliability formally across decades with issues and articles that were not in the sample. That process is detailed below. In addition, Chip Brantley, an expert in food writing, reviewed topics and frames in the study to ensure construct validity, helping the lead researcher narrow and widen categories and approaches as necessary (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 171).

To gather data, the researcher followed detailed instructions in the codebooks and recorded information on the codesheets (Appendices A and B).

Intercoder reliability. To establish reliability on the instrument for Study 1, two researchers first worked through the codebook and code sheet together with issues of the magazines in the years included in the study but outside the sample. After a lengthy discussion and training session, the two worked through one issue together, discussing each page and feature. Next, the two researchers coded two issues independently and then met back to compare results. In this discussion, some categories were combined (for example, a travel category was eliminated and the stories were placed with Places U.S. and Places International). Finally, the two researchers coded two more issues independently and checked the page numbers against each other. For 14 of the 18 categories, the two coders had 100% match. For the other, for categories, the researchers were off by no more than 2 pages total. The instrument was deemed reliable and full coding begun.

The lead researcher then coded all 48 issues, but to systematically check intercoder reliability, an undergraduate research assistant was trained extensively on the coding rules by the lead researcher. The undergraduate research assistant then coded five issues independently (five of 48). Because the issues coded by the second coder totaled 322 pages, which were broken into increments of 1/3 or 1/4 of a page, a match was considered within a half of a page for the categories with very few pages (letters, table of contents) and within a page for the larger categories (advertising, cooking). Using straight agreement, the two coders matched 100% of the time on 10 of the 18 variables (Cohen's Kappa = 1.00). For six others, the agreement was 80% (Cohen's Kappa = .545). For the remaining two (Places International at 60%, Cohen's Kappa = .286; Arts & Culture at 20%, Cohen's Kappa = .118), the reliability is problematic. It was discovered that the undergraduate coder was more likely to code international stories as arts and culture. Therefore, those results for those two variables should be viewed with caution.

Study 2. The same process was used to establish reliability on the instrument for Study 2, with two researchers testing the instrument, then an undergraduate coder completing the formal intercoder reliability after training. The undergraduate completed 10 stories of the 96 stories for frame and approaches, or 10.4%. In total, the instrument for Study 2 had 25 variables. Using straight agreement, the two coders matched 100% of the time on 10 of the 25 variables (Cohen's Kappa = 1.00). For two others, the agreement was 90% (Cohen's Kappa = .80). For 10 more, the agreement was 80% (Cohen's Kappa = .6), which is lower, but still an indication of statistically significant agreement between the coders. For three approaches, however, the reliability was problematic (topic, where agreement was 70%, description, where agreement was 40%, and how-to, where agreement was 30%.) Therefore, the results for those three variables should be viewed with caution in Study 2.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Study 1: Agenda Setting/Topics Emphasized

Demographics of the sample. Forty-eight magazines were analyzed, six in each of the eight years selected for study (1945, 1954, 1963, 1972, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2008). In each year, every other monthly issue was analyzed, beginning with January. (January, March, May, July, September, November). In the 2008 sample, June was substituted for July because the July issue was not available.

The unit of analysis was the issue, so there were 48 data points in the study. Those 48 magazines contained an average of 129.81 pages of content (excluding the front and back covers), *sd = 66.39, median = 112.00.* The minimum number of pages was 54, in July 1963, and the maximum was 292 pages, in May 1999. In total, the 48 magazines in the sample contained 6,231 pages that were coded in the study. Because of rounding issues and coding discrepancies, the total number of pages analyzed in the questions below was 6,201.6. Individual research questions are addressed below.

RQ 1: What topics were given the most space in *Gourmet* magazine over its history?

To answer this question, each issue's content was coded into descriptive categories and topics. The total number of pages in each category and topic was summed over all 48 issues of the magazine. Advertising, Letters from Readers, and Table of

Contents/Indexes/Credits (abbreviated as Table of Contents in tables) are labeled as categories

because these categories are not representative of the editorial content.

Table 1

Total Number of Pages Devoted to Each Topic Over 48 Issues (1945-2008)

Topic/*category*	Total pages	% of 6201.6 pages	Mean Pages / issue	Min/Max Pages / issue
Advertising	2766.8	44.61%	57.64	12 / 164.7
Cooking	1188.1	19.16%	24.75	8.67 / 65.3
Places – International	748.2	12.06%	15.59	0 / 50.2
Restaurants	455.5	7.34%	9.49	1 / 21.7
Places – U.S.	249.0	4.02%	5.19	0 / 28
Table of Contents	166.0	2.68%	3.47	0 / 12
Ingredients	137.0	2.21%	2.85	0 / 12
Arts and Culture	128.0	2.06%	2.66	0 / 10
Products	94.7	1.53%	1.97	0 / 10.33
Letters from Readers	86.4	1.39%	1.80	0 / 4
Alcohol	76.0	1.23%	1.59	0 / 7
Entertaining	46.0	0.74%	.97	0 / 10
People	45.0	0.74%	.94	0 / 8
Food News/Politics	5.0	0.08%	.11	0 / 5

The study found that 44.61% of the sample was devoted to Advertising, making it the

largest category. Cooking was the largest topic within the editorial content, accounting for

19.16% of the sample, followed by Places – International (12.06%), Restaurants (7.34%), and

Places – U.S. (4.02%). It is interesting that more space was devoted to Places – International than

Restaurants, since *Gourmet* is traditionally known as a food magazine.

Less than five percent of the magazine was devoted to Letters from Readers, Table of

Contents/Indexes/Credits, and the other eight topics. Less than one percent was devoted to

Entertaining, Food News/Politics, and People.

RQ2: Did space devoted to each topic vary by year in the study?

To answer this question, the average number of pages in each category for each year could be computed and compared across time periods. However, for that analysis to be meaningful, the total number of pages by decade would need to be consistent. Therefore, the average number of pages by decade was first examined. As Table 2 shows, there was significant variation in the size of the issues by year. *Gourmet* was the smallest in 1954 and the biggest in 1990.

Table 2

Average Number of Pages Per Issue, by Year

Year	Mean pages per issue
1945	83.44
1954	67.23
1963	67.64
1972	91.06
1981	154.28
1990	215.63
1999	194.89
2008	159.44

To control for the difference in the size of the magazine by year, percentages of the total number of pages in each issue devoted to each topic were computed. The analysis below is based on percent of each issue in each category rather than number of pages in each topic category.

Statistics by decade were not run because of the low number of cases (6) in each year. Because there were not enough cases to allow meaningful statistical analyses, based on the definition of the unit of analysis in this study, the data below is purely descriptive. It does, however, clearly highlight patterns in topic coverage over time.

Table 3

Percent of Magazine Devoted to Each Topic by Year

Topic/*category*	1945	1954	1963	1972	1981	1990	1999	2008
Advertising	48.11	32.47	38.30	29.84	42.73	49.15	45.16	44.14
Cooking	19.91	22.57	18.35	22.30	18.47	15.02	19.29	29.18
Places -- International	3.68	7.73	18.69	18.54	15.53	13.11	9.85	9.69
Restaurants	4.88	7.15	9.38	11.04	13.18	7.60	7.15	2.52
Places – U.S.	1.50	4.17	0.00	0.80	4.55	6.03	5.51	2.62
Table of Contents	1.90	1.00	0.95	2.10	1.30	2.15	4.30	5.80
Ingredients	4.97	4.53	3.84	6.28	1.13	1.27	1.47	0.09
Arts and Culture	2.59	2.48	5.00	0.65	1.20	2.02	2.70	1.20
Products	4.26	7.50	1.03	0.29	0.79	0.29	1.10	0.77
Letters from Readers	1.63	3.17	3.27	2.01	1.08	1.11	1.33	0.49
Alcohol	0.38	2.85	0.48	1.54	0.00	2.05	0.71	1.66
Entertaining	2.00	4.35	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.11	0.72	0.28
People	4.19	0.00	0.70	0.00	0.00	0.74	0.76	1.12
Food News/Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.49

As Table 3 shows, the percentage of the magazine devoted to advertising was highest in 1990, but dropped off in 1999 and 2008. Advertising was particularly low in 1954, 1963, and 1972. Cooking stayed between 18% and 22% of the magazine through 1981, dropped in 1990, and increased sharply to 29.18% in 2008. Places – International only accounted for a small percentage in 1945, held a position of prominence comparable to Cooking in 1963, 1972, 1981, and 1990, and dropped to less than 10% in 1999 and 2008. Restaurants also held a prominent position in 1963, 1972, 1981, and 1990. While the percentage of restaurant coverage was fairly steady until 1999, it dropped sharply to 2.52% in 2008. Products only accounted for more than five percent of the magazine once, in 1954. Stories about ingredients encompassed more than 5% of the magazine once, in 1972.

The following categories never accounted for more than five percent of the magazine: Places — U.S., Table of Contents, Arts and Culture, Letters from Readers, Alcohol, Entertaining, People, and Food News/Politics. People coverage was most prominent in the

earliest and latest years analyzed, and Food News/Politics did not appear at all until 2008. These trends are explored further in the discussion.

A final set of data was collected for Study 1. The number of recipes in each issue was recorded to determine how much space was devoted to recipes, and whether it changed over time. Because cooking was such a prominent topic, it can be assumed that the magazine defined the gourmet experience largely by cooking, the researcher sought to examine the "how-to" nature of this topic, the recipes themselves, which showed how to cook rather than just describing the experience of cooking. The question was how much the magazine was instructing its readers on how to be a gourmet, at least in the kitchen.

To control for the size differences in the magazine by year, the number of recipes in each year was divided by the total number of pages published in that year. That calculation revealed how many recipes appeared, on average, per page in each year.

The average recipe score was 76.43 ($sd = 20.01$), and the median recipe score was 73. This meant that there were about 76 recipes per issue on average over the 68-year period studied. As Table 4 shows, the number of recipes per page peaked in the 1950s and the 1960s. The lowest percentages of recipes per page were in the last three decades studied.

Table 4

Average Number of Recipes per Page, by Year

Year	Mean
1945	0.64
1954	1.14
1963	1.15
1972	0.94
1981	0.68
1990	0.38
1999	0.36
2008	0.57
Total	0.72

Study 2: Frame Analysis

  Demographics of the sample. For the second part of the study, which analyzed whether articles were framed as elitist or accessible by examining approaches used, 96 articles were coded. As explained in the method, two features outside of the standing departments were analyzed for each of the 48 issues coded in Study 1. As such, 12 stories were coded for each year analyzed (1945, 1954, 1963, 1972, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2008). The years were also grouped for analysis as follows: The early period (1945, 1954, 1963); the middle period (1972, 1981, 1990); and the late period (1999, 2008). Because the late period only had two collection periods, it was represented by 24 stories, rather than the 36 stories for each of the earlier two periods.

  The average length of the stories was 5.02 pages ($sd = 2.86$). The longest story analyzed was 15.3 pages, and the shortest three stories were only one page long, the minimum length to be included in the sample. The median length was 4.0 pages. A one-way ANOVA (analysis of variance) found that the length varied over the three publication periods. In the early period, the average length ($M = 3.65$ pages) was significantly shorter than in the middle period ($M = 6.30$) and the late period ($M = 5.17$), F (2, 93) = 9.08, $p < .001$.

  Each story analyzed was coded by the topics defined in Study 1. The main topic of each article was recorded. Of the 11 topics analyzed in Study 1, 10 were present in the stories coded for Study 2. Entertainment was the only topic that was not represented in the stories, which is not surprising given the lack of space devoted to entertainment in the magazine overall, as Study 1 showed. The most common main topic of the stories analyzed was Places – International, with 32 articles, followed by Places – United States with 19, Ingredients/Sourcing with 18, and Cooking with 10.

RQ 3: What kinds of approaches (elitist or accessible) are most commonly used in *Gourmet* articles? Did the approaches used vary by publication period or decade?

A total of 16 approaches were analyzed; eight of them suggest an elitist frame, and eight suggest an accessible frame. All 16 were found in the stories in varying amounts. As Table 5 shows, description was the most common approach used, while ease of preparation was the least frequently used approach.

As Table 5 also shows, significant changes by publication period were found for three approaches, two of them suggesting an elitist frame and one suggesting an accessible frame. Stories with the main topic of Cost Not Mentioned/Out of Reach, which listed high costs or that did not mention cost at all peaked in the middle period of the study (1972, 1981, 1990), when 80% of the stories took this approach. In contrast, only half of the stories threw cost caution to the wind in the last two decades of *Gourmet*.

Significant changes also were found over the three time periods for stories with the main topic of Elaborate/Time No Object. This approach peaked in the middle period and fell away almost entirely in the late period.

The last approach that changed significantly over the three time periods was Personal Improvement. Articles in the early period were found to hardly ever use this approach. The approach spiked significantly in the middle period and fell away in the late period.

All three approaches that were statistically significant show the same pattern, peaking in the middle period and falling away in the late period. This could be partially explained by the fact that stories were significantly longer in the middle period than in the early and late periods. More editorial space means more room to include more approaches, so it is likely that in this

middle period, there were more approaches included in each story than in the early and late periods.

Table 5

Approaches, Listed from Most to Least Common; Change by Publication Period

Approach (Elitist/Accessible)	Total (%) present	Early (n = 36)	Middle (n=36)	Late (n = 24)	Chi-Square
Description (E)	81 (84.4%)	31 (86.1%)	29 (80.6%)	21 (87.5%)	n.s.
Cost no object (E)	64 (66.7%)	23 (63.9%)	29 (80.6%)	12 (50.0%)	6.25*
$2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ person(A)	63 (65.6%)	23 (63.9%)	17 (70.8%)	63 (65.6%)	n.s.
How to (A)	58 (60.4%)	19 (52.8%)	24 (66.7%)	15 (62.5%)	n.s.
Intellect. Pleasure (E)	55 (57.3%)	24 (66.7%)	20 (55.6%)	11 (45.8%)	n.s.
Time no object (E)	55 (57.3%)	19 (52.8%)	31 (86.1%)	5 (20.8%)	25.56***
Rural (A)	50 (52.1%)	19 (52.8%)	20 (55.6%)	11 (45.8%)	n.s.
International (E)	50 (52.1%)	15 (41.7%)	21 (58.3%)	14 (58.3%)	n.s.
First person (E)	50 (52.1%)	16 (44.4%)	22 (61.1%)	12 (50.0 %)	n.s.
Americana (A)	45 (46.9%)	18 (50.0%)	17 (47.0%)	10 (41.7%)	n.s.
Personal improve. (A)	35 (36.5%)	4 (11.1%)	26 (72.2%)	5 (20.8%)	32.39***
Food=nourishment (A)	29 (30.2%)	11 (30.6%)	14 (38.9%)	4 (16.7%)	n.s.
Urban (E)	28 (29.2%)	6 (16.7%)	13 (36.1%)	9 (37.5%)	n.s.
Budget friendly (A)	23 (24.0%)	8 (22.2%)	6 (16.7%)	9 (37.5%)	n.s.
Social prestige (E)	17 (17.7%)	6 (16.7%)	9 (25.0%)	2 (8.3%)	n.s.
Time no object (E)	9 (9.4%)	3 (8.3%)	2 (5.6%)	4 (16.7%)	n.s.

*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

RQ 4: Is an elitist or accessible frame more dominant in *Gourmet* articles? Did the dominant frame vary over time period or by decade?

One way to assess dominant frame is simply to look at the top approaches used, as indicated by Table 5. Examining the nine approaches that were present in at least half of the stories, six are approaches associated with an elitist frame. Also, the two most common approaches used were both elitist.

To analyze overall frame for the 96 stories in a more systematic way, each story was given a total elitist score that represented the number of elitist approaches used in the article. For example, if a story was international, urban, told in the first person, and focused on social prestige, its total elitist score was four, because four of the eight elitist approaches were present.

The same was done for the accessible approaches. Scores, theoretically, could range from 0 to 8 for each frame.

For elitist approaches, each of the 96 stories had at least one present, and four had all eight present. The median elitist score was 4.0. For accessible approaches, two stories didn't have any accessible approaches, and the maximum present was seven. The median accessible score was 3.0. Means were compared on the two scores with a paired samples t-test. The 96 stories had a significantly higher elitist score ($M = 4.18$) than accessible score ($M = 3.26$) t (95) = 3.05, $p < .003$.

Next, overall frame was determined for each article. If the elitist score was higher than the accessible score, the article was coded as having an elitist frame – and the same was done for the accessible frame. Those with equal elitist and accessible scores were coded as balanced. Overall, 55 (57.3%) of the stories had an elitist frame, 5 (5.2%) were balanced, and 36 (37.5%) had an accessible frame. The significant difference in mean scores coupled with and the dominance of the elitist in the majority of stories provide evidence that articles in *Gourmet* were framed in an elitist way more often than in an accessible way.

Next, it was determined whether the number of articles framed as elitist or accessible changed by publication period. Crosstab analysis using Chi-Square revealed that most articles were framed in an elitist way in the early period, when 22 articles (61.4%) had more elitist approaches present than accessible approaches. Although elitist frames continued to be most common in the other two periods, the percentage of articles with the elitist frame dropped off in the middle years to 19 articles, (52.8%) and increased slightly in the late years with a total of 14 articles (58.3%). While this variance shows the magazine was most elitist in the early years, no statistically significant difference was found among the three time periods in this analysis.

However, this could be because the expected cell counts were below five for three cells in the Crosstab.

In addition to publication period, the analysis was also conducted by year. A Chi-Square analysis could not be conducted because eight cells had an expected count of less than five, and those numbers are too volatile for the statistics to be meaningful. In the following analysis, the five articles coded as balanced were dropped to show fluctuations in the percentage of articles with elitist and accessible frames. As Table 6 shows, there were clearly ups and downs in the way articles were framed across decades. In two decades (1945, 1990), accessibility was the dominant article frame. In some years, the difference between the number of articles framed as elitist and accessible was more balanced (1981, 1999). In other years, the difference was more extreme (1954, 1963, 1972, and 2008).

Table 6

Frame of Article by Decade

Frame	1945	1954	1963	1972	1981	1990	1999	2008	Total
Elitist	5	8	9	9	6	4	6	8	55
	(41.7%)	(72.7%)	(75.0%)	(75.0%)	(54.5%)	(33.3%)	(54.5%)	(80.0%)	(60.4%)
Access-ible	7	3	3	3	5	8	5	2	36
	(58.3%)	(27.3%)	(25.0%)	(25.0%)	(45.5%)	(66.7%)	(45.5%)	(20.0%)	(39.6%)

To further examine the dominance of the elitist frame, the mean elitist and accessible scores were compared across the three periods using a one-way ANOVA (analysis of variance). A statistically significant difference was found only for the elite score over time. The same patterns found with the individual approaches in Research Question 3 were present for overall elitist frame. The average elitist score was higher in the middle period ($M = 4.83$) than in the early period ($M = 3.92$) and the late period ($M = 3.58$), $F (2, 93) = 4.69$, $p < .011$. The accessible frame score also varied by publication period, though there was no significant difference. The

average accessible score in the early years was lower ($M = 2.89$) than in the middle years ($M = 3.64$) and late years ($M = 3.13$).

All of the evidence above clearly indicates that the elitist frame was dominant over the history of *Gourmet*; however, there were periods in the magazine where accessible frame was dominant. In the middle period, when the magazine was its thickest, both elitist and accessible frames are prominent, possibly because there was more room to include more approaches in the longer articles that appeared during this period of time.

RQ 5: Does the frame vary by main topic of article?

To examine whether different types of stories had different frames, a one-way ANOVA was run on the average elitist scores and the average accessible scores by story topic. The articles were grouped by main topic, and mean scores for the two frames were compared for each group of articles. Statistically significant differences were found for both scores, as Table 7 shows. Places – International and Restaurants stories had the highest elitist scores, while Cooking and Places – U.S. stories had the highest accessible scores.

Next, Crosstab analysis was used to examine how the number of stories in a topic category with an elitist frame compared with those with a dominant accessible frame. For example, the majority of the Cooking articles had a dominant accessible frame, so that topic was classified as accessible. This analysis is shown in the last column of Table 7. More of the articles whose dominant topic was Cooking and Places — U.S. were framed as accessible. The 18 articles whose dominant topic was Ingredients were balanced (nine had elitist frame and nine had accessible frame). The majority of articles in the remaining seven topics were framed as elitist.

Do note, however, while all three columns in Table 7 reflect a statistically significant difference by story topic, these statistics should be viewed with caution because of the low numbers in some categories. There was only one article in three categories, as illustrated below.

Table 7

Average Elitist and Accessible Scores and Dominant Frame by Topic Sorted by Total Number of Articles

Topic	Number of Articles	Elitist Score	Accessible Score	Dominant Frame
Places—International	32	5.53	2.47	Elitist
Places—U.S.	19	3.53	4.26	Accessible
Ingredients/sourcing	18	3.33	3.44	Balanced
Cooking	10	3.10	4.20	Accessible
Arts and Culture	7	3.71	2.86	Elitist
Restaurants	4	4.25	3.00	Elitist
People	3	4.00	3.00	Elitist
Food news/politics	1	4.00	3.00	Elitist
Alcohol	1	3.00	1.00	Elitist
Products	1	4.00	1.00	Elitist
Model summary		$F = 4.65***$	$F = 3.20**$	$X^2 = 2.83**$

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001$

While Cooking was the biggest editorial topic, as shown in Study 1, only 10 of the stories analyzed in Study 2 had Cooking as the main topic. This can be explained by the large number of recipes and menus in *Gourmet* that appeared outside feature articles. Feature articles are a more suitable place for content related to Places than content related to Cooking. As a result, feature articles tended to have more elitist topics. (Places—International is an elitist topic, and Cooking is accessible.) It is also interesting that 18 of the 96 stories had the main topic of Ingredients/Sourcing, and Ingredients/Sourcing only accounted for 2.21% of the total content, as shown in Table 2. Alcohol, Food News/Politics, and Products each were the main topic of only one story.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

This study was designed to assess how *Gourmet* covered food and food-related topics, how it framed feature articles, and how topic coverage and framing changed over the magazine's 68-year lifespan. The purpose was to determine how the predominant food magazine in the country defined gourmet for the American public for much of the 20th century. Using agenda setting theory and frame analysis, respectively, the researcher examined what *Gourmet* told its readers to think about in terms of food and gourmet, and whether it framed the gourmet as something reserved for the elite or as something that was accessible to the average American.

Study 1: Topic Coverage in *Gourmet*

In Study 1, Cooking was the most prominent topic when looking at a sample of issues from the magazine's lifespan. This was followed by Places – International, Restaurants, and Places – U.S. It was found that Cooking accounted for about 20% of the magazine's content over its history. This finding suggests that *Gourmet* emphasized that being a gourmet was primarily about the preparation, and not about the social aspects—dining out, shopping, and entertaining— of food. While those aspects were certainly part of the picture *Gourmet* provided of what it means to be gourmet, the dominant topic was about the reader preparing food.

Still, overseas travel (Places – International) was almost as big a part of being a gourmet as defined by the magazine as cooking. This is interesting considering that *Gourmet* was considered primarily a food magazine. The fact that the two dominant topics in the magazine were Cooking and Places – International presents a split image. Gourmet is about being in the home, cooking or traveling to far-away places. As the literature suggests, the idea of the gourmet is derived from French cuisine (De Garine, 1976). It makes sense, then that in the early years, the

magazine's Places – International articles were dominated by places in Europe, the homeland of the gourmet. In the 1950s and 1960s, a series of features titled "Beautiful Britain" appeared, each one detailing a specific part of the United Kingdom. Also during this period, there was a strong French influence, as several features tracing gustatory experiences in France appeared. Often, these articles ended with a page of recipes gleaned from the writers' travels, showing readers how to bring experiences abroad to their cooking.

Johnston and Baumann's (2007) suggestion that the definition of gourmet became less Eurocentric and more focused on a global, selectively omnivorous cuisine in recent years is supported in the analysis of issues in sample, as the magazine began to have a more global focus in later years. The Places – International stories still included places in Europe, but there was also a heavy presence of places outside Europe. Articles in 2008 featured places all over the world, including China, India, and Mexico. This reflected a shift in recent years away from the gourmet's "European" homeland to a more multi-cultural focus. Often stories urged readers to go on "food pilgrimages" to both gourmet's homeland and other places, or at least to be educated about those places.

After Cooking and Places – International, Restaurants were given the third most prominent coverage in *Gourmet*, suggesting that while cooking at home and traveling abroad were of primary importance, dining out was also a significant part of the gourmet experience. Dining out would give readers access to trends in the food world and to the techniques of chefs, who make being a gourmet their profession.

Places – U.S. was the fourth most prominent topic covered in *Gourmet*. Although it occupied fewer pages than the first three, the topic's prominence suggests an attempt by *Gourmet* to show readers how to experience the gourmet in their native country. *Gourmet*

showed its readers that being an American gourmet meant striking a balance between the American and "the other," as outlined in Johnston, Baumann, and Cairns' 2008 study: "A sense of nationhood is in part constructed, rather than obscured, by a culinary quest for the Exotic" (p. 1). Their study found that while the exotic retained a strong presence, content in the four food magazines they analyzed were full of nationalistic themes. The conclusion of that 2008 study aligns with the finding in this study that being an American gourmet means having roots both at home and abroad, suggesting that *Gourmet* presented a unique picture of what it meant to be a gourmet in America.

It is surprising that the following categories never accounted for more than 3% of the magazine: Arts and Culture, Alcohol, Entertaining, People, and Food News/Politics. While Arts and Culture was not *Gourmet*'s primary topic of interest, the researcher expected this category to account for a larger percent of the content. Still, it was more prominent than Alcohol, Entertaining, People, and Food News/Politics, topics that are more closely related to food. The absence of Entertaining could be e explained by the way Cooking and Entertaining coverage were coded. Content that suggested menus for guests or special occasions was mostly coded as cooking because the focus was on the preparation rather than the entertaining. People coverage was most prominent in the early and late periods of *Gourmet*, and Food News/Politics did not appear in the sample at all until 2008. The introduction of new topics in later years supports journalists' claims that food is becoming a more important, more broadly covered issue.

Over all, the findings support previous research, suggesting that the American gourmet, according to *Gourmet* magazine, is dual in nature. On the one hand, the magazine emphasized the familiar—cooking at home, dining in local restaurants, and travel within the United States. On the other hand, it emphasized the "other"—traveling abroad. The marriage of knowledge

gleaned outside the United States, whether from gourmet's homeland in Europe or from other, more exotic cultures, to the familiar, presented a truly unique, American definition of gourmet. This dualism supports the frames of exotic and authentic used to analyze content in Johnston and Baumann's study (2007). They found that by using those frames, food writers "resolve a tension between an inclusionary ideology of democratic cultural consumption on the one hand, and an exclusionary ideology of taste and distinction on the other" (p. 165). Inclusionary ideology is evident in the prominence cooking holds in *Gourmet*, while exclusionary ideology is evident in the extensive coverage of places outside the United States.

Study 1: Changes in Topic Coverage over Time

Changes in topic coverage over time both highlight trends in the food world and reflect U.S. economic conditions at different points in history. The magazine was its largest in 1990, with an average of 215.63 pages per issue. The drop in cooking coverage during the middle years analyzed could be explained by the increase of coverage in other areas, which was made possible by the increased number of pages.

The sharp increase in cooking to 29.18% in 2008 could be linked to the recession at that time. Perhaps *Gourmet* readers, like others, were clamoring for more on the topic as they cut back on dining out. Restaurant coverage, the third most prominent topic, dropped to less than 3% that year. This helps to explain *Gourmet*'s increased coverage of cooking in 2008.

The trends over time in Places – International also can be partially explained by economic and historical trends. This topic was most prominent during the middle period. America was at war in 1945, so it makes sense that the magazine would feature local rather than international travel. The prominence of this topic could have dropped off in 1999, a year in which the magazine was more accessible than elitist, because the magazine was trying to appeal

to a broader audience. In 2008, because of the recession, international travel was probably something that most Americans might not have been doing.

Coverage of alcohol was almost nonexistent in the early years but became part of the magazine during later years, suggesting that *Gourmet* introduced a new dimension to its readers. People coverage was most prominent in the earliest and latest periods. Early issues included personal essays about people who had influenced the writer's cooking life appeared. In the last years of the magazines, People coverage includedprofiles of chefs and other professionals in the food world, suggesting that editors believed their readers should be more in tune with the people associated with the culinary world in the late period. It seems that coverage of non-celebrity people was no longer en vogue in the middle period, when there was virtually no people coverage, and that the idea of knowing prominent people in the food world did not seem to be important until the last period.

Food News/Politics did not appear at all until 2008 in this sample, and then the coverage was almost non-existent. Ruth Reichl, who became the magazine's editor in September 1999, introduced this topic, suggesting that social consciousness was an important aspect of the gourmet (Abu Jabar, 2009).

Theoretical Implications of Study 1. *Gourmet* set the agenda for American gourmets by focusing on cooking, international travel, and restaurants. According to agenda setting theory, the magazine was not telling its readers what to think about these things, just which were more important as topics in the gourmet world. *Gourmet* told its readers what a gourmet lifestyle would include by making some topics more prominent than others.

Gourmet focused on a wider range of topics in later years, suggesting that what it means to be gourmet became more multi-faceted over time. *The New York Times* editors' 2009 claim

that: "How and what we eat has emerged as a Washington issue and a global-environmental issue as well as a kitchen-table one" (p. MM) is supported in the findings of this study. The introduction of new topics in the middle period and especially the late period suggest that *Gourmet* attempted to follow this trend, covering more aspects of food—from growing it, to refining it, to preparing and enjoying it, to making socially and environmentally responsible choices. According to agenda setting theory, *Gourmet* set a broader agenda with more topics as over time, which could have broadened the concept of gourmet in the minds of its readers, or could have been a reflection of the current cultural conception of gourmet.

The data also suggest that *Gourmet* became less focused in the late publication period. This is also the period where Advertising began to decline, from its highest in 1990 at 49.15%, to 45.16% in 1999 and 44.14% in 2008. Because advertisers are increasingly interested in targeting a specific market, the move toward a more general food magazine may have led advertisers to find more specific places to advertise. The overall trend of moving advertising to the Internet, where it is cheaper and space is abundant, also could explain the drop in later years.

Journalists have argued that the magazine was partly responsible for its own demise due to its lack of focus toward the end. It may have become too broad, trying to encompass too many dimensions of food, a magnificently broad topic that would be difficult to cover completely in a single magazine. At a time when most media began catering to niche markets, *Gourmet* was broadening, and as a result, generalizing its content.

Agenda setting theory is not only based on determining what information the media is making available to the public. The researcher also must make a connection between what media cover and public opinion. Because a survey of readers or the American public or *Gourmet* readers was not conducted, that connection could not be made. However, according to the theory,

Gourmet broadened the concept of gourmet over time by introducing new topics to the gourmet realm, suggesting that its readers were thinking about what it meant to be gourmet in much broader terms. A survey of readers could give a more complete picture of the agenda setting effects of *Gourmet*. A survey could also shed light on agenda setting's cyclical process by determining to what extent the content of *Gourmet* was a reflection of Americans' evolving conceptualization of gourmet.

Study 2: Framing Evident in *Gourmet's Feature Articles*

Study 2 set out to determine how *Gourmet* framed its content, in an elitist or accessible way, and whether the framing changed over time. Study 2 also examined dominant frames by topic of the articles. Earle R. McAusland, the magazine's founder, aimed to promote the idea that fine eating was fine living, and that it could be achieved by anyone, regardless of economic and social position (Voight, 1994). Study 2 attempted to gauge McAusland and subsequent publishers' level of success in making the gourmet accessible by coding articles according to approaches that suggested either an elitist or accessible frame.

It is important to note that the word "elitist" is not seen as negative in this study. Because of strong cultural associations between the gourmet and the elite, this barrier would be difficult to break down. Because of the nature of gourmet, which most generally is something better than average, making gourmet completely accessible would contradict the very definition of the word. As shown in the literature, part of the appeal of the gourmet is that it is out of the ordinary or unique (Packaged Facts, 1999). Johnston and Baumann (2007) recognized that media often frame the gourmet as exotic. *Gourmet*'s founder simply wanted to make the gourmet less rare by giving readers a window into a world that was once reserved for elite members of society.

Their sample suggested that American food writing struck a balance between inclusionary and exclusionary ideals—food is universal, and as such, can be a social leveler, though there are still elements of exclusivity. The food writing they examined resolved tension between the two ideals, in much the same way McAusland sought to.

Of the 91 articles in the sample with a clear frame, 60.4% of the articles were framed as elitist, and 39.6% were framed as accessible. The fact that nearly 40% of articles were framed as accessible, coupled with the consistency the frame had throughout the magazine's publication suggests that McAusland was somewhat successful in making the gourmet accessible. Still, the magazine's dominant frame was elitist. But the fact that the magazine was 40% accessible suggests that McAusland took something seen as elite and made it considerably more accessible. Simply having a magazine about a world thought of as elite makes that world more accessible, but the way content was framed is evidence of McAusland's conscious effort to show Americans that they could achieve fine living through the gourmet, in effect, resolving a tension between exclusionary and inclusionary ideals. McAusland seems to have struck a balance between making finer things accessible and diluting the definition of gourmet to include too much of the average or the everyday.

The most common approaches used in the articles analyzed, Description and Cost No Object, are both elitist. However, the third and fourth most common approaches used, 2nd/3rd person and How-to, are accessible, suggesting that the magazine emphasized both the elite nature of the gourmet and the way elements of a gourmet lifestyle were within the reach of average Americans. It makes sense that description, an elitist approach, would be the most common approach used in the articles. *Gourmet* was literary in nature, and much of its content described

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food, places, and events. It was a source of information for its readers, and description is one way to convey information. In a July 1981 article about Honolulu, the writer describes her accommodations:

> Our room was immense with high ceilings and old-fashioned double doors, one louvered to catch cross breezes, and the view took in an azure patch of ocean and venerable monkeypod, its spreading canopy the preferred sleeping quarters of hundreds of twittering birds…In the days to come we would delight in the hotel's amenities. (Bates, p. 31)

While the article provides information to readers on the landscape and fauna of Honolulu, or at least one courtyard in Honolulu, it does not provide any information that would help the reader replicate the experience, other than listing the name of the hotel.

Providing instructions (How-to) was seen as the more accessible way to convey information in this study. It is interesting that How-to was the fourth most used approach, because in this study, it was seen as the opposite of Description. While description was a more frequently used approach, more than 60% of the articles examined contained elements that explained how readers could replicate the gourmet experience. This can be partially explained by the high volume of recipes in the magazine. Often, recipes appeared at the end of an article about a place or event. However, other articles described how to do something as part of the article. In an article titled "What is Southern?" (January 2008), Edna Lewis explained: "Southern is a mint julep. A goblet of crushed ice with a sprig of mint tucked in the side of the glass, a plain sugar syrup the consistency of kerosene poured over the ice, then a jigger of bourbon. Stir and bruise the mint with a silver spoon. Sip and enjoy" (p. 26). This how-to content illustrates a common technique in the magazine: it has elements of a recipe, but it is a more complete description of the drink, its roots, and the way it should be enjoyed. It instructs the reader, showing how they

can take part in a time-honored Southern gourmet tradition. The instructions are simple. Anyone could do it.

Topics of Articles

Places – International was the most common topic in the articles coded for Study 2, followed by Places – U.S., Ingredients/Sourcing, and Cooking. Places – International were most commonly framed as elitist, while Places – U.S. were more commonly accessible, Ingredients/Sourcing was balanced, and cooking was accessible. The most common topics present in the entire issue are not the same as the most common topics present in the feature articles. It makes sense that the places topics would be most common, because travel stories are often feature stories. However, it is interesting, when looking at the content this way, how much of a presence places had in the feature articles of the magazine. Only one out of the top four topics in feature articles was elitist.

These findings, coupled with the nearly 60-40% split overall among elitist and accessible frames, suggest that the magazine was somewhat successful in making the gourmet experience more accessible. De Garine (1976) suggested that gourmet became associated with the elite and with social prestige as early as the dawn of the 19th century. This long history of the gourmet being associated primarily with the elite is supported with this data, though the 20% margin between the two frames shows that the magazine wasn't entirely elitist. The magazine struck a balance, though it was tipped toward the elitist side.

Study 2: Frame Changes Over Time

Over the three publication periods (1945-63, 1972-90, 1999-2008), the percentage of articles framed as elitist remained above 50%. At its lowest, the elitist frame dropped off in the middle years to 52.8%. The data suggest that *Gourmet* became less elitist in the middle period,

but was almost as elite in the late period as it was in the early period. The lower percentage of elitist frames in the middle period could suggest an attempt by the magazine's producers to make the magazine appeal to a broader audience. It could also be explained by the fact that the magazine was its thickest in the middle period, making room for the use of more accessible approaches. These two factors are probably interrelated as well, since the thicker book, which was rich with advertising (as shown in Study 1), was doing well at the time. It would make sense, then, that it was appealing to a broader audience during this period.

The change back toward an elitist frame in later years, coupled with significant differences in the space devoted to certain topics (as shown in Study 1) could also suggest that the magazine began to lose its way during its final years, making changes that could have spurred its demise by making it less appealing to readers. These results should be viewed with caution, though, since the data only presents snapshot images of the magazine at nine-year intervals. The tip back toward elitist in 2008 could also be explained by limitations of the sample, which was comprised of feature articles. Feature articles were fewer in 2008, and one traditionally accessible topic—Cooking—was not present at all in the 2008 features.

The average elitist score was higher in the middle period ($M = 4.83$) than in the early period ($M = 3.92$) and the late period ($M = 3.58$). For the entire sample, the average elitist score was 4.0, and the average accessible score was 3.0. This data suggests that during the middle period, although there were fewer elitist articles than in the other two periods, the articles coded as elitist were more elitist. In this period, the articles coded as accessible also had a higher average accessible score than the other two time periods. There was a more obvious division of content during this period. As the magazine shrank in the late period, it retained more elitist content than accessible content. This could have partially accounted for a loss of interest among

the general public. Condé Nast's decision to retain Bon Appetit, the more accessible of its two food magazines, supports this interpretation of the data in this study (Luscombe, 2009).

The fact that the trend toward accessibility, as seen in the decrease in the presence of the accessible frame from 75% in 1972 to 33% in 1990 was not retained in later years (80% of articles were framed as elitist in 2008), is an important finding. While there was no statistically significant difference found in the use of the frames over publication periods, the yearly analysis (see Table 6) shows this trend. It is interesting to note that in two of the eight years studied, 1945 and 1990, the dominant frame was actually accessible, showing the trend of year-by-year variation. In1945, the articles were split 41.7% elitist and 58.3% accessible, and by 1954, the next year in the analysis, the percentage of elitist articles had spiked to 75%. This is the most drastic change in frame by year shown in the data. Perhaps the magazine's success hadn't yet set in by 1945, a year in which *Gourmet* had doubled its readership, moved to the Plaza Hotel's penthouse, and attracted a handful of well-known writers. The newfound success reported that year may have influenced the change in frame and the departure from magazine's original mission.

Still, the magazine prospered for the next several decades, though during this time it slowly increased the number of articles framed as accessible. The increase of elitist articles in the late period, coupled with an economic recession that a) is related to declining readership, and b) spurred many Americans to reign in spending, especially on travel and dining out, were part of the confluence of events responsible for the magazine's abrupt closure in November 2009.

There was no statistically significant difference in the framing of articles as elitist or accessible over time. Overall, the magazine remained consistently more elitist than accessible. It

retained a large percentage of accessible articles throughout its history, showing that the magazine was fairly consistent in the framing of articles.

Theoretical Implications. Within the context of this study, frame analysis would suggest that by framing most of its articles as elitist, *Gourmet* influenced the conceptualization of the gourmet as elite in its audience. Frame analysis says that the media have considerable power in shaping the complex psychological associations readers make among certain topics and ideas. By framing cooking in an accessible way, then, readers would think about cooking a complicated dish as something they could do. By framing Places – International in an elitist way, readers would begin to think about traveling overseas in an elitist way, according to frame analysis. In reality, it is possible to travel overseas on a budget, but since overseas travel was almost never framed that way in *Gourmet*, the average reader might see it as something reserved for the elite.

The literature supports the idea that the gourmet is traditionally associated with the elite, and the findings in this study suggest that *Gourmet* reinforced that association through the framing of its content, to a certain degree. However, the nearly 60-40% split in elitist and accessible frames would suggest that it also made the gourmet appear somewhat accessible to its audience, supporting previous research that showed how food writing can resolve a tension between inclusionary and exclusionary ideals (Johnston & Baumann 2007). Framing articles as accessible would suggest to readers that they could achieve what is traditionally known as something the elite enjoy. Although frame analysis suggests that the way articles are framed shapes the way readers conceptualize the content, a more complete picture of the effects of the frames used in *Gourmet* articles could be achieved with a survey of readers. A survey could determine to what extent the stated goal of Gourmet magazine influenced the way readers thought about the gourmet.

Limitations

This study was limited by several factors. First, content analysis has several limitations as a method. Content analysis does not explore the attitudes and opinions of the people producing or reading the magazine, as focus groups, intensive interviews, or surveys could. It is limited to the actual text for generating data. A survey of readers could provide more information on the effects of the content on its audience. A survey could provide evidence that *Gourmet* was successful in setting the topic agenda for its readers and providing a framework for how the gourmet should be perceived.

Second, the study was limited by the sample. Because of the sheer volume of pages of *Gourmet,* coupled with the fact that the unit of analysis in Study 1 was the issue, the sample was not large enough to run meaningful statistical analyses on the 48 issues coded. The sample would have to be at least doubled, and statistics run by period rather than decade, to provide data that would be more suitable for statistical analysis. More data would allow the researcher to trace significant changes in the agenda setting of topics over time. While some statistical analyses were run for Study 2, again, the small sample size hampered the ability for meaningful statistically significant differences over time and topic to emerge. Again, doubling the sample size – or doubling the number of articles coded – would help correct this problem.

Third, the study was limited by the instrument. Because so few studies of this nature have been conducted, the researcher created variables, a codesheet, and a codebook from scratch. Losing detail in the coding of content could be avoided by refining the instrument, which was shown to have some problems in the intercoder reliability check. In a subsequent study, it would be helpful to redefine some of the coding categories. In study one, Entertaining should be defined differently to better encompass content that was related to entertaining. Most of this

content was related to the cooking involved in entertaining, so it was coded as Cooking. It might be helpful to break Cooking into more than one category (i.e. cooking to entertain, cooking for family or oneself, etc.) The handful of variables in both Study 1 and Study 2 with problematic intercoder reliability produced results in those areas that should be viewed with caution. For the most part, these were minor variables, but one, Places – International in Study 1, was discussed extensively. Before firm conclusions can be drawn on that variable, the intercoder reliability should be rechecked with a different sample. Because *Gourmet* is literary in nature, and literature is largely interpretive, a study that included both qualitative and quantitative analysis would also help avoid the loss of detail when coding quantitative content.

There were particular limitations in Study 2 because of the nature of the sample. Sampling features limits the researcher to the content in those features, and content in features differs from content in the rest of the magazine. In particular, the increase in elitist framed articles in 2008 could be explained by limitations of the sample. In 2008, none of the feature articles were coded as Cooking. This is because features were defined as having at least one page of non-recipe text, and the cooking articles in 2008 were mostly limited to recipes and images. While it might seem strange that in 2008 more articles were framed as elitist though Cooking (an accessible category) content accounted for almost 30% of the sample, this can be explained by the lack of cooking content that qualified as a feature article. Features were fewer in 2008, and feature articles tend to have more elitist topics.

In addition, it is difficult to come up with an instrument that is a consistent measure for nearly 70 years of content. The content changed so much that the frames probably changed over time. For example, an International approach was seen as elitist, though in recent years, the

magazine has featured topics such as Singaporean street food. Though it's international, and though it's urban, this is poor man's food. This challenge needs to be addressed in future studies.

Suggestions for Future Research

A survey of readers of *Gourmet* would be an important step in furthering research in this area because it would allow the researcher to measure the extent to which the attitudes of readers was influenced by the content. A survey sample could be drawn from the last available subscribed readership list. It would also be helpful to survey readers of the magazine during different publication periods, though this sample would be difficult to collect, because old subscription lists may be more difficult to find, and because time has passed, allowing for other sources to influence readers' conceptualization of the gourmet.

A second way to further research would be to simply expand the sample, by coding more content. It would be helpful to select years in between the nine-year intervals that were coded in this study to get a more complete picture of changes over time. When those changes took place would become more precise with a more thorough sample.

Interviews and focus groups with employees of the magazine could also be conducted to gather more information about which topics were covered and how content was framed. The motivations behind the changes seen in the data could be explored in this way. Interviews and focus groups with *Gourmet*'s staff could also aid in the understanding of what factors may have influenced the magazine's demise, and what motivated the staff to make changes in the later period that strayed from the magazine's past.

Conclusion

Looking at the data from both Study 1 and Study 2, it appears that overall, *Gourmet* was a cooking and international travel-focused magazine that framed most of its articles as elite,

while maintaining the idea that gourmet can accessible to the average American. The data support the research of Johnston and Baumann, two prominent food media scholars, in that gourmet can be both elitist and accessible, or inclusionary and exclusionary, as they described it (2007). Their later finding (2008) that though the concept of the gourmet has changed, it is still exclusionary, is supported in this study's finding that while accessibility was a prominent frame, more articles were framed as elitist, right up to the end. The data in these studies suggests that the magazine was at least somewhat successful in fulfilling its founding mission, that with the right tools, any American could experience the finer things in life, though the association between gourmet and the elite was never lost. The increase in *Gourmet*'s topic coverage over time supports journalists' claims that food is becoming a more important issue in today's society (New York Times Editors, 2009; Brown, 2004). It seems, in light of this study and the literature, that in *Gourmet* magazine, the gourmet is still largely identified with the elite, and that the gourmet is a broader, more prominent topic in today's ideological landscape than it was 70 years ago.

So what does this mean for Gourmet and other food magazines? Food, and even just gourmet food, is an incredibly broad topic, and an all-in-one magazine may not be feasible or desirable. Instead, perhaps food magazines should cater to niche audiences—readers with specific, narrow interests. Those kinds of magazines seem to be doing the best right now. For food journalism, though, it is devastating that what some have called the "Food Bible" lost its way and was forced to close, and that America would rather read about how to make weeknight meals for a family of four in *Bon Appetit* than a culinary tour of Italy in *Gourmet*. It was a cultural icon, and now it's gone. But, in light of this study's findings, this researcher does not

think anyone is going to try to replace *Gourmet*. It tried to be too much, and it failed. Trying that again would be a daunting, and perhaps insurmountable, task.

The magazine certainly left its mark on American gourmet culture. In many ways, it did make the gourmet more accessible to Americans. Just having a magazine like that—the concept alone—makes it more accessible. It's right there on paper to be digested and put into action. Still, it was necessary for the magazine to retain somewhat of an elitist quality. It seems almost like a preservationist mentality, a "we're not going to forget where we came from" attitude.

These conclusions, however, should be viewed with caution because of the limitations of the data set and the instrument. This study is not a comprehensive analysis of *Gourmet* magazine over time, but a snapshot of nine-year intervals that provides an incomplete picture. Therefore, the researcher's conclusions are not meant to provide a comprehensive historical explanation or analysis.

Still, the study can shed some light on the magazine's sudden demise, helping to explain why the frontrunner of the American gourmet movement closed after so many years of defining it. While the overall state of print media in 2009, coupled with an economic recession that spurred many Americans to reign in spending and abandon old luxuries, this study suggests a few key changes that occurred in the magazine's late period that may also be responsible. Journalists' and food professionals' claim that the magazine became too generalized toward the end, causing niche-market readers to turn to more specific food media, and the other argument, that the magazine continued to cater to an elite audience that no longer existed, are explored in light of this study below.

There were also some interesting changes in topic coverage in the magazine's late period. The sudden increase in coverage of Cooking, and the sudden decrease in coverage of Restaurants

and Places – International, actually seem to suggest that *Gourmet* was in tune with the current state of affairs. The magazine even featured articles about the best hot dogs and how to find an inexpensive steak in New York, which some argue was taking accessibility a bit too far. But while there was an increase in Cooking, which was found to be an accessible topic in Research Question 5, and a decrease in Places – International, found to be elitist in Research Question 5, the articles coded for that year were 80% elitist. This finding suggests that while the magazine increased coverage of a traditionally elitist topic and decreased coverage of a traditionally accessible topic, in 2008, traditionally accessible topics were framed in a more elitist way. This finding in particular suggests that the magazine may have reinvented itself too much in later years. However, it is important to note that this study was limited by a sample that provided snapshots of the magazine in nine-year intervals, so it does not provide a complete history. These speculations could be further validated with a data set that included shorter intervals.

The findings suggest, then, that both ideas about the magazine's closure are relevant. Nach Waxman, a cookbook-store owner in Manhattan, suggested that the magazine lost its way at the end because it tried to encompass too much and failed, diluting coverage of a broad array of topics. In a *New York Times* interview, he said: "The magazine has been casting about and remade itself too many times" (Severson, 2009, p. D3). On the other hand, Knopf editor Judith Jones told *The New York Times*: "Gourmet got away from the things that are going on in people's homes, and seemed to be for an elite that got smaller and smaller" (Severson, 2009, p. D3). Jones suggested that the magazine continued to cater to an already narrow, and now diminishing, elite. In light of this study's findings, there is truth in both Waxman's and Jones' claims. An increase in topics covered showed that the magazine broadened its content to encompass nearly all aspects of food and gourmet in the late period. Perhaps it became too

generalized, losing readers to publications catered to niche audiences. The retention of a highly elitist frame, coupled with declining economic spending patterns in the years leading up to its demise, suggest that at its close, *Gourmet* may have been out of touch with the times. However, the influence *Gourmet* had on American food journalism and American food culture is indelible and will likely endure, even though the magazine is gone.

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Appendix A

CODESHEET: Study 1

Descriptive information

_____/_____Month/Year

_____Total number of pages

_____Raw count of recipes

Topics	1/4 .25	1/3 .33	1/2 .5	2/3 .33	3/4 .75	1	Total
Table of Contents/Masthead/Credits/Indexes							
Letters from Readers							
Advertising							
Cooking							
Entertaining							
Places – U.S.							
Places – International							
Restaurants							
Arts and Culture							
Products							
Ingredients/Sourcing							
People							
Food News/Politics							
Alcohol							

CODEBOOK: STUDY 1

The coder will use one codesheet for each issue examined to collect data, as outlined by the instructions in this codebook.

Descriptive information

The coder will collect certain descriptive information about each issue, to ensure that the topic information that is collected remains in context. Descriptive categories and information on how to record that information is listed below.

Year/Month

The coder will code each issue by year and month, writing the standard five or six-digit date abbreviation. (1/1945, 3/1972, 11/2008, etc.)

Total number of pages

The coder will record total number of pages in each issue examined, as determined by the page number that appears on the last page of that issue.

Raw count of recipes

Total number of recipes should be counted for each issue. A list all of recipes can be found in the Recipe Index, which usually appears near the back of the magazine. Those recipes should be counted, and that number should be recorded in the space provided.

Coding by page, according to topic: the 0/1 to 1/1 system

The amount of space on a page that is devoted to one of the topics listed below (or one of the descriptive categories listed above that specifies the use of this system) will receive scores ranging from 0 to 1. The amount of space devoted to a topic is easily identified in third-page or

quarter-page increments. On any given page, a topic can receive a score of 0, 1/4, 1/3, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, or 1, depending on which fraction most accurately depicts the amount of space devoted to that topic on the page. On the codesheet, these values should be recorded as decimals rather than fractions. 1/4 should be recorded as .25; 1/3 should be recorded as .33, ½ should be recorded as .5, 2/3 should be recorded as .67, 3/4 should be recorded as .75, and 1 should be recorded as 1. 0 does not need to be recorded. Each page that is coded must add up to 1. Starting with the first page inside the cover, the coder will find the amount of space devoted to each topic and record the value in the space for each topic on the codesheet, followed by a + sign. If several continuous pages are devoted to a single topic or to advertising, then the pages do not need to be coded individually. If four pages in a row, for example, are devoted to a story about how to cook mashed potatoes, a "4" should be recorded in the appropriate category, cooking notes and tips, which is explained further below. Once every page in an issue has been coded, the coder should have a list of numbers, each with a + sign in between, for each topic. The coder should then add all the values together to get the sum. The sum should equal the total number of pages devoted to that topic in the issue that has been coded.

Categories

Table of Contents/Masthead/Credits/Indexes

Table of contents, mastheads, credits, and indexes will be counted according to the 0/1 to 1/1 system, which is described in detail below under "coding by page". These reference pages need to be accounted for in the final page count, but will provide nothing more than descriptive information about the issue. This is not a topic of major interest; it is simply a way of accounting for this content. The table of contents appears at the front of the issue and lists the stories and departments in the pages that follow. The masthead appears near the front as well, listing names

and positions of employees at the magazine. In some issues, photo credits and other indexes, such as recipe and travel indexes, appear.

Letters from readers/from the editor

Letters will be counted according to the 0/1 to 1/1 system, which is described in detail below under "coding by page." Letters will be counted so these pages are accounted for in the final count, though letters are not a topic of primary interest.

Advertising

For each issue, total number of advertising pages will be tallied by page according to the 0/1 to 1/1 system, which is described in detail below under "coding by page". Advertising pages are anything labeled as advertisement or promotion, or anything that is clearly advertising a product and is outside the editorial content of the magazine. Though advertising accounts for a large percentage of the magazine, it is not a topic of primary interest in this study. This study is concerned with the editorial content, detailed under topics below.

<u>Topics</u>

Cooking

Any content containing advice on how to prepare dishes other than alcoholic beverages should be recorded as cooking. This content can often be identified in later issues by a page heading that reads "Cooking," and in earlier issues by reading the first sentence or two of the article, or by looking for a recipe. All recipes fall into this category.

Entertaining

Any content that focuses on hosting meals or parties in one's home will be coded as entertaining. However, content that mentions entertaining but simply lists a menu and recipes should be coded as cooking. Entertaining content should include details about entertaining (setting the table,

being a good hostess, dinner conversation, weddings and other special occasions that require significant planning), not just menus and recipes.

Places – U.S.

Content describing writers' travels to cities or regions of the United States should be categorized as Places – U.S. This content should center around entertainment, cuisine, travel accommodations, etc., of a specific place within the United States.

Places: International

Content describing writers' travels to places outside the United States should be categorized as Places – International. This content should center around experiences in cultures outside the U.S.

Restaurants

Restaurant reviews and listings should be recorded as Restaurants.

Arts and Culture

Content devoted to the arts, education, or intellectual pursuits should be recorded as arts and culture. Any content about cultural events or pages containing information about movies, plays, music, visual art, books other than cookbooks, etc., should be recorded in this category. Sketches of historical figures, which appeared briefly during the magazine's early years, should be included in this category.

Products

Content that contains information about cookware, appliances, cookbooks, specialty ingredients, and other products should be recorded as Products. If sea salt is featured on a page in the magazine, that page should only be recorded as a product if a specific brand of sea salt is being promoted. If the ingredient in general is described, this content should be recorded as Ingredients.

Ingredients/sourcing

Content that contains information about a specific ingredient falls into this category. The ingredient must not be labeled by brand, unless the article simply mentions which brand was used for testing purposes. If the brand is mentioned, the content should be coded as products, which is explained below. An article that explains that champagne only comes from Champagne, France, or that the best balsamic vinegar is only produced in small batches, emphasizing the source of the product, should be coded as Ingredients/sourcing.

People

Profiles of chefs or other important figures in the food world should be coded as people. In the magazine's early years, first-person profiles of people who influenced writers' love of food and cooking often appeared. One such article was about the writer's grandmother and how she and her kitchen staff taught the young writer to cook. This content should also be coded as people.

Food news/food politics

Any content relating to a news, health, social, economic, or political issue will be coded in this category. Content pertaining to health should be recorded in this category only if it does not also contain information about cooking. Content describing how to cook a healthy meal, for example, should be recorded as cooking. Content pertaining to the unhealthy eating habits of Americans, for example, should be recorded as food news/food politics.

Alcohol

Articles about alcoholic beverages should be coded as alcohol. If an article mentions wine tasting in France, but is mostly about travel in France, that content should be coded as Places – International. If an article describes the wines of Burgundy in detail, explaining flavors and pairings, that content should be coded as Alcohol.

Appendix B

CODESHEET: Study 2

Descriptive information

Page number_____

Length_____

Month/Year____/____

Title of article_____

Topic of article _____

FRAMES

ELITIST	**ACCESSIBLE**
____International	Americana____
____First person	2nd/3rd person____
____Description	How to____
____Cost not mentioned/out of reach	Budget-friendly/cost included____
____Social prestige/show-off	Personal improvement____
____Urban	Rural____
____Elaborate/time no object	Time/ease of preparation____
____Food as intellectual	Food as nourishment____
____Total	Total____

Frame of article (elitist or accessible) _____

CODEBOOK: STUDY 2

The coder will use one codesheet for each article examined to collect data, as outlined by the instructions in this codebook.

Choose feature articles

For each issue, two feature articles will be selected at random for coding. Two articles in each of 48 magazines, or 96 articles, will be coded. Each feature selected must be an article that is not a standing department, is bylined, and has one page or more of non-recipe text. The two features for each issue should be identified by turning to the table of contents and selecting two at random.

Descriptive information

The coder will collect certain descriptive information about each article. Instructions for on how to record descriptive information are listed below.

Month/Year

The coder will code each article for the issue in which it was published by writing the month and year of the issue in the space provided. Months and years should be recorded as numerals (1/1945, 3/1945, etc.)

Title of article

The coder will record the title of the article exactly as it is written at the top of the article.

Frames and approaches

The coder will code each article for each attribute listed on the codesheet. Approaches will receive a score of 0 (absence of attribute) or 1 (presence of attribute). Approaches listed in two

columns fall into two frames: elitist and accessible. Both approaches along the same dichotomy (i.e. urban and rural) may be coded as 1 if both are present. The coder will find the sum for each frame by adding the numbers in each column. The frame with the higher score will be recorded as the dominant frame. Each attribute is described below.

Elitist Approaches

International

Articles that mention cultures outside the U.S. or their traditions or recipes, or travel destinations outside the U.S. will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. For example, an article titled, "The Beauty of Britain" or "Guadalajara" would be coded as International.

First Person

Articles written in the first person (I or we) will receive a score of 1 for this attribute.

Description

Articles that describe an elegant meal, a beautiful home, or a trip overseas without much instruction as to how the reader can achieve something similar will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Here is an example from a July 1981 article about Honolulu: In the days to come we would delight in the hotel's amenities and in its labyrinthine underground passageway, lined with faded photographs of prewar Waikiki, that leads to the pool and beach" (Bates, p. 31). Rather than explain how a reader can find this hotel, suggest which rooms to ask for, or suggest specific amenities that are not to be missed at this particular hotel, the article simply describes the writer and her companions' experience of it.

Cost not mentioned/out of reach

If the cost of the activity in the article (preparing a meal, dining out, travel) is not mentioned, or if the cost is out of reach for the average American, the article will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Here is an example from a January 1999 article:

> St. Mortiz's status as the most celebrated and smartest of winter playgrounds befits the place that glamorized downhill skiing, bobsledding, tobogganing, ice polo, ice cricket, 'White Turf' horse racing (on the frozen lake), and pretty well every imaginable madcap adventure combining mountains, ice, gravity, money and insanity. Anyone with a substantial bank balance, comprehensive insurance, a high pain threshold, and less fear of personal humiliation than your average game-show contestant will feel instantly at home here. (Ross, p. 60)

The article suggests that "anyone with a substantial bank balance" could enjoy these activities in St. Moritz, suggesting that the cost of such a trip is out of reach for the average American.

Social prestige/show-off

Articles that address the reader in a tone of "talking down," or articles that describe ways the educated gourmet can show off his or her skills, will be coded for social prestige/show-off. Articles that mention exclusive clubs or activities, complex terms or ideas with little explanation, or extravagant spending habits will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Here is an example from a play review by Lucius Beebe that appeared in the January 1945 issue:

> Another offering, the charms of which left at least one play reporter with the same feeling that accompanies the service of a fallen soufflé in a third-rate restaurant, was Lawrence Stallings' The Guarded, a dreary and implausible charade which regrettably unfolded itself before the accustomed polite audience at Henry Miller's theatre under the usually triumphant banner of John C. Wilson. (p. 9).

The writer shows his prestige and knowledge of fine cuisine and good plays with his contempt for anything less than the best in this scathing review.

Urban

Articles that mention restaurants, cocktails, and city life (Broadway plays, museums street food), or that take place in urban locales will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Examples include a feature article about New Orleans or a review of Boston's newest restaurants.

Elaborate/time no object

Articles that present meal suggestions or activities that are time-consuming or will take beyond a reasonable amount of time (a dinner that requires four hours to prepare, a ten-course meal at a restaurant, a three-week Mediterranean cruise) and that do not mention time will receive a score of 1 for this attribute.

Food as intellectual

Articles that educate the reader about a food, ingredient, person, or place's history or background will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. These articles will suggest the food in question can be enjoyed on more than a physical level by understanding its history, background, or cultural significance. Here is an example from "France's Animated Markets," which appeared in November 1981: "A cheese has to be "discovered," and there can be no more delightful introduction to the specialties of a region than by way of a local cheese found in a local market, be it an Epoisses in Burgundy, a Brousse in Marseilles, or a Lanres in Champagne" (Platt, p. 170). Platt suggests here that discovering a cheese has more to do with discovering the origin of a specialty cheese than simply whether it tastes good, suggesting that the cheese will be enjoyed on an intellectual level, because it has been "discovered."

Accessible Approaches

Americana

Articles that mention traditional American food, American holidays, American traditions, or vacation destinations in the United States will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Examples

include an article about a New England lobster festival or an article about camping with ranchers in New Mexico.

Second/Third Person

Articles written in the second or third person (you, he, she) will receive a score of 1 for this attribute.

How-to

Articles that describe how to achieve what the article describes with recipes, instructions, and basic step-by-step information will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Many of the places articles contain elements of how-to, explaining where a first-time traveler might like to stay and which sites would me most exciting to visit. All recipes are how-to, so all features accompanied by recipes will be coded as how-to.

Budget-friendly/Cost included

Articles that mention prices or suggest affordable travel destinations, meals, restaurants, products, or ingredients will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Some articles about cooking suggest the substitution of a less expensive ingredient (mass-manufactured balsamic vinaigrette, a cheaper alternative to the real thing). These articles are budget friendly. An article about a restaurant that lists menu prices, unless they are sky-high, would also be coded in this category.

Personal improvement

Articles that have a tone of "lifting up" readers, or articles that explain something complex in everyday terms, suggest shortcuts for preparing a gourmet meal, give suggestions on how an average person can experience or prepare gourmet food (simplifying a recipe, substituting expensive ingredients for affordable ones, cooking after work, etc.), or provide step-by-step

instruction or cultural education will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Here is an example

from January 1999, which tells readers they can be better cooks by learning to make veal stock:

> Brown veal stock is used around the world as the foundation for sauces in practically every upscale restaurant kitchen preparing food arising out of the French tradition. And though it's no more difficult to make than chicken stock, it is virtually nonexistent in the home cook's vernacular…Once you have made good veal stock a part of your repertoire, however, you have crossed the main bridge that lies between you and four-star cooking. Honestly, the stock is like magic. (Ruhlman, 1999)

The article suggests that with the mastery of this simple stock, readers can become much

better cooks. The article goes on to explain how to make veal stock.

Rural

Articles that mention rural activities such as farming, gardening, rural travel, or living in a small

town will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. Examples include articles about a farm in Maine

and a summer house in the country.

Time/ease of preparation

Articles that specify activities that are efficient (weekend trips, 30-minute dinners, pulling a

party together quickly) will receive a score of 1 for this attribute. In the magazine's later years,

there was more emphasis placed on time, so more articles contained recipes that could be

simmering on the stove or baking in the oven in 15 minutes.

Food as nourishment

Articles that focus on food's sustaining, nourishing, or medicinal properties or simple

descriptions of an ingredient and ways to prepare and enjoy it receive a score of 1 for this

attribute. Articles that describe the health benefits of garlic or dark chocolate, for example,

would have this approach.

Frame of article

After the article has been coded, whichever frame's sum of approaches is greater will be

recorded as the dominant frame of the article.